On the Eve of Lord Mahavira's 2500th Nirvana Anniversary

KING BIMBISĀRA

AND

KING AJĀTAŚATRU

IN THE AGE OF

MAHĀVĪRA & BUDDHA

By
MUNI NAGRAJ
D. Litt.

Foreword By
Prof. Dr. RAMESH CHANDRA PANDEY, *M.A., Ph. D.*
Professor and Head,
Department of Philosophy,
University of Delhi.

Translated By
MUNI MAHENDRA KUMAR *'Dviteeya'*
B. Sc. (Hons)

Publishers :

JAINA VISHVA BHARATI
LADNUN (Rajasthan)

Published by

S.C. Rampuria,
Director,
Āgama & Sāhitya Prakāshan
JAINA VISHVA BHARATI
LADNUN (Rajasthan)

First Edition
1974
Price Rs. 7.00

Printed by

S. Narayan & Sons
7117/18, Pahari Dhiraj,
Delhi-110006.

FOREWORD

Comparative study of the Jaina and the Buddhist literature is one of the most important branch of studies pertaining to ancient Indian culture and history. Many a problem regarding the dark period of ancient Indian history could be solved through a thorough and critical study of these two important movements of Indian religion. Upto now many scholars have studied the Buddhist literature critically and drawn conclusions therefrom. Also there are some other scholars who have dived deep into Jaina literature and discovered some facts throwing light on ancient Indian culture. But there is a dearth of such scholars who have studied both the Jaina and Buddhist literature deeply and critically from a comparative standpoint. Muni Shri Nagraj Ji, the author of the present monograph, is undoubtedly one of those Indian scholars to fathom the depth of this branch of knowledge. Besides, himself being a Jaina monk, he is well-conversant with the Jaina and the Buddhist literature as he has studied them from original Prakrit and Pali texts. His monumental treatise[1], for which he earned his doctorate (honoris causa) of letters, is itself a direct evidence of his great erudition and deep studies.

---

1 Agama aur Tripitaka: Eka Anusilana, Volume I, History and Tradition, Published by Jaina Swetamber Terapanthi Mahasabha, Calcutta, 1969.

The present work is a part of his wide researches. It pertains to the two great kings of Magadha in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha—Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Not much is known about the role of these ancient kings of India in the field of history. The author has waded through the vast lore of Prakrit anu Pali literature and critically studied the facts available there. His treatment of the subject is completely free from bias and prejudices. The conclusions he has drawn about the creed of these kings, seem to be quite consistent with historical evidence and logical as well.

I congratulate the author for his commendable efforts in putting before the scholars of history and culture his valuable research findings in the form of a systematic and impressive monograph. I also hope that his future researches in this field will furnish us with so far unknown facts of historical and cultural value.

The November, 1974

(R. C. PANDEYA)
Professor and Head,
Department of Philosophy
University of Delhi

PREFACE

Both Lord Mahāvīra (599 B.C. - 527 B.C.) and Lord Buddha (582 B.C. - 502 B.C.) were contemporary with the famous kings of Magadha (Bihār), Śreṇika Bimbisāra and his successor Kūṇika Ajātaśatru. Hence it is quite natural to find numerous allusions to both the kings in the Jaina and Buddhist scriptures, popularly known as *Agamas* and *Tripitakas*. The *Agamas* are mostly written in the Ardha Māgadhī or Prakrit language and the *Tripitakas* are in *Pāli* language.

But it is really quite surprising to find equal claims made by the Jaina and Buddhist as regards the faith of these kings. The Prakrit literature unambiguously describes Śreṇika Bimbisāra and Kūṇika Ajātśatru as the followers of Lord Mahāvīra; while the Pāli literature makes an equally perspicuous claim as to their being followers of Lord Buddha. The present work is intended to discuss the question thoroughly and reach a definite conclusion. Although the book is not voluminous, it is probably the first (and may be the last) work on this topic and has its own importance. However, the present work is not confined only to this issue, it also intends to elucidate some aspects of Ancient Indian History. The era of kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru or Lord Mahavira and Lord Buddha is one of the brightest periods of Indian History. The literature on Indian History so far

published has, however, not thrown adequate light on many of the prominent features such as the fall of the Vajji Republic. Only the evidence furnished by the Prakrit and Pāli literature can enlighten this dark period of history. In the present work, an humble effort of supplying this evidence has been made sc as to present elaborately the political as well as cultural conditions of that age.

Inspite of it being a research work, this book will, in no way, be less interesting than a novel, I hope.

The present book is one of the chapters of my voluminous treatise titled *Agama Aura Tripitaka Eka Anusilina* which was written in such a way that each of its chapter can serve as a separate book. Another chapter of this treatise titled the Contemporanity and the Chronology of Mahāvīra and Buddha has already been published by Today and Tomorrow Book Agency, New Delhi and has earned great admiration from people of our country as well as abroad. I hope publication of this book also will be equally appreciated.

Translation of such critical works in itself is not an easy task, but Muni Mahendra Kumar has accomplished this quite adroitly, for which I express my hearty congratulations to him.

MUNI NAGRAJ

30th August 1974.
Sethia Sadan,
Sadulpur (Rajasthan).

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

ŚREṆIKA BIMBISĀRA

The king of Magadha in the age of Mahāvīra and Buddha was Śreṇika Bimbisāra, who was the sixth king in the line of Śiśunāga Dynasty.[1] Rājagṛha was his capital city where he ruled from 582 B.C. to 544 B.C.[2] As regards his creed, we have it on the authority of Buddhist sources that he was a follower of the Buddha but the Jains have claimed him as a convert to the Nirgrantha Order. It is essential, therefore to make an effort to present the relevant evidence on the controversy and come to a definite conclusion.

The First Contacts

The Buddhists hold that Bimbisāra's first visit to Buddha took place immediately after his renunciation and much before his enlightenment. According to the Pāli literature, Buddha, after having renounced the world, went to Rājagṛha. When Buddha, the young ascetic, entered the city of Rājagṛha for begging alms, thousands of men and women were attracted by his magnetic personality. Great poet Aśvaghoṣa depicting the episode, writes "As soon as one saw Buddha, one's eyes got rivetted to his eye-brows, forehead, face, eyes

1. See for details, the author's *Contemporaneity and Chronology of Mahavira and Buddha*, Today and Tomorrow's Book Agency, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 97, 98
2. See *ibid.*, p. 106.

torso, hands, feet, etc. whichever part of the body they perceived."[1]

"In Rājagṛha, while seeking alms, Buddha walked with the steady eyes, minutely observing a distance equivalent to the length of a yoke. He was silent. His gait was slow and regular and his mind was composed."[2]

King Bimbisāra also saw this ascetic spreading divine glory from his palace. He was instantly attracted towards him and keenly desired to talk with him. He confronted Buddha on Mount Pandu (Ratnagiri) near Rājagṛha.

Bimbisāra offered Buddha his kingdom and invited him to enjoy the luxuries of the palace. Buddha declined to accept anything and preached the disastrous results of indulgence in carnal pleasures. Buddha said, "I have accepted asceticism not for the sake of royal pleasures but to achieve enlightenment." Bimbisāra replied, "I wish you speedy success. I invite you to visit Rājagṛha after achieving enlightenment." Buddha promised the king to do so and went away.[3]

---

1. *Bhruvau lalatam mukhamikshane va, vapuh karau va charanau gatim va.*

   Yadeva yastasya dadarsa tatra, tadeva tasyatha babandha chaskshuh.

   —Ashvaghosha, *Buddha Charita*, canto X, verse 8.

2. *Alolachaksur yugamatradarsi nivrttavag yamtritamandagami. Chachara bhiksham satu bhikshuvaryo, nidhaya gatrani chalam cha chetah.* —*Ibid.*, canto X, verse 13.

3. *Suttanipatta, Mahavagga, Pavvajja Sutta*; *Buddha Charita*, canto XI. v. 72.

According to the Jain version, Śreṇika's first contact with the Jain religion was through Anāthī Muni. This meeting was very similar to the meeting described above. There was a very beautiful garden known as Mandikukṣi full of various types of flowers near Rājagṛha. Once Śreṇika, the ruler of Magadha, made a pleasure excursion to this garden. There he saw a saint (*nirgrantha*) sitting under the shade of a tree. He looked delicate and accustomed to comfort. When the king saw his figure, his astonishment at that ascetic's figure was very great and unequalled. He exclaimed; "O his colour, O his figure, O the loveliness of the noble man, O his tranquility, O his detachment, O his disregard for pleasures."[1]

Sitting, in front of him, the king respectfully asked, "Though a young nobleman, you have entered the order; in an age fit for pleasure, you exert yourself as a Śramaṇa, will you explain ?"

The ascetic : I was without a protector.

The king : How is it that there was nobody to protect one so accomplished as you ? I shall be the protector of you, O monk, enjoy pleasures together with your family and friends, for it is a rare chance to be born as a human being.

The monk : You yourself are without a protector, O ruler of Magadha, how can you protect anybody else ?

The king : How do you call me unprotected ? What is your definition of unprotected, O ascetic ?

1. *Aho vanno aho ruvam aho ajjassa somava.*
Aho khanti aho mutti aho bhoge asamgaya.
—*Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, chapter XX, v. 2. English translation by Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLV, p. 100.

The monk : There is a town, called Kauśambī where lived my father whose name was Prabhūta-dhanasanchaya (meaning very wealthy); who was true to his name. We were a happy family. Once in my early youth, I was caught with a very severe pain in my eyes, and a severe burning fever all over my body. The pain was dreadful and unbearable. The best of physicians came to my help, but they could not rid me of my pains. My father would have spent all he possessed, for my sake, but he could not rid me of my pains: hence I say that I am without protection. My loving and faithful wife moistened my breast with her tears, not living my side even for a moment; but she could not rid me of my pains; hence I say that I am without protection.

And the Mahānirgrantha—the great ascetic further explained to the king, "O king, thus finding myself entirely without protection, I sought refuge in religion. I took an oath that if I, for once, shall get rid of these pains, I shall become a houseless monk. The next morning my pains had vanished; and hence, I took leave of my relations and became a houseless monk."

The above dialogue is found with more details in the twentieth chapter called *Mahaniganthiya* of the *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*. It may be interesting to note that Monk Anāthī also explained to the king about another kind of want of protection. He referred to those monks who after being initiated did not adhere to the code of asceticism. Impeaching strongly the laxity of character of such persons, the monk said, "But there is still another want of protection, O king; hear therefore, O king, attentively

with concentrated thoughts, how some easily discouraged men go astray after having adopted the code of the Niganṭhas."[1]

"Such a person is of no value like an empty clenched fist or like an uncoined false Kārṣāpaṇa (coin); just as a piece of glass resembles turquoise in shining, but it is worthless for the men of discernment; so is he, who, though putting on the garb of a monk, does not properly follow the code and though unrestrained, pretends to be a restrained (ascetic); doing so, he will come to grief for a long time.[2]

"(Having adopted the code of Niganṭhas) He, who practises divination from bodily marks and dreams, who indulges in augury and superstitious rites, who gains a sinful living by practising such and other magic tricks, will have no refuge at the time (of retribution).[3]

"He who accepts forbidden alms, viz. *Auddesikam* i.e. such food as has been prepared for giving alms to the Parivrājakas, Śramaṇas, Nirgranthas, etc., *Kritkrtam* i.e. has been bought for his sake, or *Nityapindam* as he gets regularly (as by right and

---

1. *Ima hu anna vi anahava niva, tam gachitto nihuo sunehi. Nivantha dham nim lahiyana vi jaha, siyanti ege bahukayara nara.—Ibid.*, v. 38.

2. *Polle va mutthi jaha se asare, ayamtie kudakahavane va. Radhamani veruliyappagase, amahagghae hoi ya janaesu. Kusilalimgam iha dharaitta, isijjhavam jiviya bahaitta. Asamjae samjayalappamane, vinigghayamagachchhai se chiram pi.—Ibid.*, vv. 42, 43.

3. *Jo lakkhanam suvina paumjamane nimittakouhala sampagadhe. Kuhedavijjasavadarajivi, na gachchhai saranam tammi kale.*, *—Ibid.*, v. 45.

custom), who like fire devours everything, will go to hell from here, after having sinned."[1]

Thus condemning the so-called lax monks, in the end Anāthī Muni clearly admonishes the king of Magadha thus : "A wise man who hears this discourse, an instruction full of precious wisdom, and who deserts every path of the wicked should walk on the road of the great Nirgranthas."[2]

King Śreṇika was extremely pleased by hearing Anāthī's sermon With folded hands, expressing his gratitude to Anāthī Muni, the king said : "You have varily explained to me what it is to be without protection. You have made the best use of human birth, you have made a true gain, O great sage, it is only you who (in true sense can be said to) have a protector and relations, for you have entered the path of the best Jinas. You are the protector of all unprotected beings, O ascetic, I ask you to forgive me. O highly fortunate (monk) ! I seek to be disciplined by you. That by asking you I have disturbed your meditation, and that I invited you to enjoy pleasures, all this you must forgive me."[3]

---

1. *Uddesiam kivagadam nivagam, na munchai kimchi anesanijjam.*
   Aggi viva savvabhakkhu bhavitta, io chhuo gachchhai kattu pavam.—Ibid., v. 47.
2. *Sochchana mehavi subhasiyam inam, anusasanam nanagunovaveyam.*
   Maggam kusilana jahaya savvam, mahaniyathana vae palenam.—Ibid., v. 51.
3. *Tuttho ya senio raya, inamudahu kayamjali.*
   Anahattam jaha bhuyam, sutthu me uvadamsiyam.
   Tujjham suladdham khu manussajammam, labha suladdha ya tume mahesi.
   Tubhe sanaha ya sabamdhava ya, jam bhe thia magge jinuttamanam.

The concluding verse reads : "When the lion of kings had thus, with the greatest devotion, praised the lion of houseless monks, he (the king) together with his wives, servants, and relations, became a staunch believer in the religion (of nirgranthas), with a pure mind."[1]

There are striking similarities between the Jain account of King Śreṇika's meeting with Anāthī Muni and the Buddhist episode of Bimbisāra's meeting with Buddha.

In both the episodes, the king of Magadha (a) is very much impressed by the elegance and equanimity of the young ascetic, (b) offers him the facilities of carnal pleasures and (c) obtains refusal thereof. The sequence of both the scenes forces one to doubt whether one of the traditions had copied the other. "Maṇḍikuchchhi" garden has been referred to as "Maddakuchhi" in the Buddhist tradition.[2] Except the above episode, we do not find a reference to Anāthī Muni anywhere else either in the Jain or the Buddhist literature. Whether he was a disciple of Mahāvīra, or initiated in the order of Pārśva, is also not alluded to anywhere.

Tam si naho anahanam savvabhuyana samjava.
Khamemi te mahabhaga ! Ichchhami anusasium
Puchchhiuna mae tubhham, jhanavigghho u jo kao.
Nimantio ya bhogehim, tam savvam marisehi me.
— *Ibid.*, vv. 54-57.

1. *Evam thunittana sa rayasiho, anagarasiham paramai bhattie.*
Saoroho sapariyano sabamdhavo, dhammanuratto vimalena cheyasa.
—*Ibid.*, verse 58.

2. *Dighanikava, Mahavaggo*, Mahaparinibbana Sutta, p. 91 (Nalanda Edition).

Nor there is any mention of his ever meeting Mahāvīra. Probably these reasons have led Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, the historian, to conclude that the person referred to as "Anāthī" in this episode was none other than Mahāvīra, on the basis of epithet "Aṇagāra-Sīho" (lion of the monks). He, therefore, infers that this meeting of Śreṇika was with Mahāvīra himself.[1] While such an interpretation would no doubt increase the historical importance of the meeting, we have no confirmatory evidence to support it. On the contrary, mention of the Town Kauśāmbī, Prabhūta-Dhana-Sanchaya Merchant (as Anāthī's father), pain in the eye, etc. definitely point to an entirely different person.

The significant difference in the Jain and the Buddhist versions of the Bimbisāra's first contact is that, while in the Buddhist text, Śreṇika (Bimbisāra) merely invites Buddha to visit Rājagṛha on his attaining enlightenment, in the Jain scripture, he with his family accepts Nirgrantha-religion, as a result of his contact with Anāthī.

Nirgrantha Anāthī's description of the other type of 'Unprotectedness' appears to be hitting out at pseudo-monks to divert the king's faith from them. It is difficult to conclude from this description whether any particular sect was the target of his criticisms nor is it clear whether Śreṇika was the follower of that sect. Whereas his reference is chiefly to easy-going Nirgranthas, it is difficult to say which Nirgranthas had become so much lax. If the reference is to the easy-going monks initiated

1. *Hindu Civilization*, p. 185 (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1964).

in the tradition of Pārśva, then it is obvious that the time of this episode must be after Mahāvīra's omniscience and before his visit to Rājagṛha because that was the period when the lax monks of the Pārśva-order held the sway.

In the Tripitakas

We find several clear proofs of King Bimbisāra having accepted the Buddhist faith. The original reference is found in the *Vinay Pitaka*, where it is stated : Buddha visited Rājagṛha after proselytizing thousands of Jaṭilas[1] such as Uruvela Kashyapa, etc. King Bimbisāra came to know of this. He visited Buddha accompanied with twelve hundred thousand Brahmans and householder citizens of Magadha. Buddha was sojourning at Laṭṭhivana at that time. He preached to them. On hearing the sermon, eleven-hundred thousand citizens of Magadha including Bimbisāra acquired then and there uncorrupted 'vision of truth' viz. 'Whatever is produced must cease to be," while one hundred thousand accepted the Buddhist faith.[2] Having become a staunch Buddhist, Bimbisāra considered it his duty to invite Buddha for dinner. He said, "Lord ! to-day I have fulfilled all the five aspirations which I entertained since long. I desired : (1) May I be crowned as a (coronated) king, (2) May an arhata i. e. Buddha visit my capital, (3) May I seek his presence, (4) May I listen to his preachings and (5) May I accept him as my preceptor. To-day all these five aspirations have been fulfilled respectively.

---

1. Jatilas were ascetics wearing long matted and twisted hair.
2. *Vinay Pitaka*, *Mahavaggo*, *Mahakhandhaka*. pp.35–6 (Nalanda edition).

I invite you and all your monks to be my guests for tomorrow." The next day Buddha and his monks accepted the hospitality of the king, who served them with his own hands and dedicated Veluvana gardens for the use of Buddha and his monks.[1]

This episode is corroborated by the *Kutadanta Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya*. There the Brahmina Kūṭadanta says to his advisers and colleague brahmins, "Why should I not go to visit Śramaṇa Gautma ? Even Śreṇika Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, together with his wives, sons and ministers has dedicated his life to the cause of Buddhism."[2] In the *Sonadanda Sutta*, Brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa gives utterance to the same words on a fitting occasion.[3]

Commencement of Uposatha in the Buddhist Order

Depiction of a number of episodes describing Bimbisāra's relations with Buddha and the Buddhist order after accepting Buddhist faith, are available. Mention is found in the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinay Pitaka* about the personal visits of Bimbisāra to Buddha on a few occasions. During one of such visits, Bimbisāra proposed, "Oh Lord ! disciples of other faiths congregate and hold religious discourses on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the lunar fortnight. Why should we not do the same ?" Buddha gave his assent to the proposal and thus commenced the custom of *uposatha* in the Buddhist order.

Soldiers Forbidden to be Initiated

On another such occasion, he entreated Buddha not to initiate members of the armed forces in the

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.
2. *Digha Nikaya*, 1-5, pp. 111-12 (Nalanda edition).
3. *Ibid.*, 1-4, p. 108.

monastic order. This was necessary because many soldiers, when dispatched for fighting in the front-lines, sought initiation as monks through fear of death. Buddha gave his assent to this also.[1]

Once Śreṇika Bimbisāra called the representatives of eighty thousand villages which were ruled by him. He taught them political, social, and economical administration. At last he said, "Whatever I have taught is all mundane. For religious knowledge, you should seek refuge in Buddha." Thereafter they all went to Gṛdhrakūta Mountain and became followers of Buddha.

Śreṇika Bimbisāra appointed his royal physician Jivaka Kaumara Bhṛtya for the medical care of Buddha and his monastical order. Description of his having built monasteries is also available.[3]

According to the *Petavatthu Atthakatha*, Śreṇika Bimbisāra observed *Uposatha* every month on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the fort-night.

Miracle in the Prison

According to the *Amitayurdhyana Sutra* of the Mahāyāna School, during the evening of his life, when Śrenika Bimbisāra was in prison, Maudgalyā-yana, a chief disciple of Buddha, by his miraculous powers. used to appear in the prison and preached him religious maxims. In fact, Bimbisāra desired so, and accordingly it happened. Vaidehī, the wife

1. *Vinaya Pitaka*, *Mahavaggo*, *Mahakhandhaka*,
2. *Vinaya Pitaka*, *Mahavaggo*, *Chammakhandhaka*, p. 199.
3. *Ibid.*, *Chullavagga*, *Khuddakavathukhandhaka*, p. 458.
4. *Verse* 209.

of Bimbisāra was also imprisoned in a separate cell. It is also mentioned that on her praying, Buddha himself appeared there.[1]

According to the *Dhammapada-Atthakatha*, when the Lichchhavis sent Mahālī, who was a member of Bimbisāra's retinue, to beg Buddha to visit Vaiśālī, Bimbisāra did not himself try to persuade Buddha to do so, but when Buddha agreed to go, he repaired the whole road from Rājagṛha to the Ganges—a distance of five leagues—for Buddha to walk upon; he erected a rest-house at the end of each league, and spread flowers of five different colours knee-deep along the whole way. Two parasoles were provided for Buddha and one for each monk. The king himself accompanied Buddha in order to look after him, offering him flowers and perfume and all the requisites throughout the journey, which lasted five days. Arrived at the river, he fastened two boats together decked with flowers and jewels and followed Buddha's boat into the water upto the neck. When Buddha had gone, the king set up an encampment on the river bank, awaiting his return; he then escorted Buddha back to Rājagṛha with similar pomp and ceremony.[2]

In the *Lalitavistara*, it is mentioned that Buddha and his monastic order were exempted from ferry charges.

Conversion of King Pukkusati

It has been stated in the commentary of the *Dhatuvibhanga Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya*, "Once

1. *S.B.E.*, vol. XLIV, p. 166.
2. *Dhammapada Atthakatha*. vol. III, pp. 438 ff.; *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 288.

some merchants of Takṣaśilā came to Bimbisāra's court. They praised their King Pukkusāti. They depicted him to be of the same age, and as virtuous as Bimbisāra. A friendly alliance was thus established between the two kings through exchange of messages. Merchants of both the countries were exempted from custom duties mutually. Pukkusāti presented five costly multicoloured shawls to Bimbisāra. In return, Bimbisāra presented a golden plaque inscribed with eulogies of Buddha. Eventually Pukkusāti came to Rājagṛha travelling on foot to visit Buddha and became a Buddhist monk.

Next Life of Bimbisara

The description of life after death of Bimbisāra is found in the *Janavasabha Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* as under : Ānanda asked Buddha, "O Lord ! Since you have described the life-after-death of several of your disciples of various nationality, it would be fit if you will also describe the same of Śreṇika Bimbisāra, who was also a religious and pious king and also your disciple."

In response to Ānanda's request Buddha went into meditation, and concentrated his consciousness to know in which state of life Bimbisāra was experiencing happiness or misery.

A celestial *Yakṣa* revealed himself and said, "O Lord ! I am Janavasabha", and repeated it thrice ; and asserted, "I am Bimbisāra myself." Then Buddha knew and declared to Ānanda that Bimbisāra had been born as a *Yakṣa* and was named Janavasabha.

The *Therigatha* mentions the initiation in the Buddhist order of Khemā, one of the queens of Bimbisāra. She was ranked by Buddha foremost among the nuns of his order for her great insight.

IN THE ĀGAMAS

All the above quotations are so clear in themselves that, if we were to decide merely on their evidence, we would undoubtedly conclude that Śreṇika Bimbisāra was a follower of Buddha. However a thorough study of the Jain Āgamas furnishes evidence which is even clearer than this.

Contact with Mahavira

We have already mentioned how Śreṇika, the king of Magadha, came into contact with Anāthī Nirgrantha and learnt for the first time about the Nirgrantha religion. His direct contact with Mahāvīra and his deep reverence for and faith in him is vividly depicted in one of the chapters of the Āgama *Daśasrutaskandha*. It is stated : "In those days there was a city named Rājagṛha. Outside the city were Gunaśīla gardens. King Śreṇika ruled there. One day, King Śreṇika while holding court called some of his personnels and told them, 'Go and thus address the proprietors (managers) of all rest-houses, gardens, schools, abodes. temples, halls, places of distribution of food and water, market places, lime-kilns, bazars, wood-depots, factories and workshops sorrounding the city of Rājagṛha, 'It is the order of King Bhambhāsāra that, whenever Lord Mahāvīra arrives in this city, you should offer him your premises and facilities for lodging etc.,

and inform me immediately about his arrival." The personnels carried out his orders.

"One day Lord Mahāvīra arrived in Rājagṛha, and people assembled. Proprietors of rest-houses etc., came to Śreṇika and said, 'O king ! To see whom you are so very anxious, and whose name gladens your heart so much, he, the Preceptor, Tīrthaṅkara, Omniscient (all-perceiving and all-knowing) Lord Mahāvīra has arrived in Rājagṛha and stays at Guṇaśīla gardens.'

"Śreṇika was very happy and content to hear this news. Getting up from his throne, and walking a few paces in the direction of Gunaśīla gardens, he bowed to Lord Mahāvīra. After having rewarded the messengers, he called the heads of his army, transport-departments, etc. and ordered them to keep ready the fourfold retinue and the chariot used for religious purposes.

"Having done this he came to Queen Chelaṇā and said, 'Dear ! Visiting the Omniscient Preceptor is a great blessing. Let us, therefore, go and visit Lord Mahāvīra, bow to him, revere him, welcome him, and pay our respects to him Lord Mahāvīra is blessed, consecrated, god of gods and omniscient. Let us go and worship him. Worshipping him would be blessings for us, for happiness and welfare in this life, the next and all the subsequent cycles of life and in achieving emancipation.' Hearing this Chelaṇā became glad and happy.

"Chelaṇā completed her ablution, put on costly clothes and ornaments and rode the chariot by the side of Śreṇika. In due course they arrived at

Guṇaśīla gardens. Facing Lord Mahāvīra, Chelaṇā venerated him with folded hands, inquired about his well being, and bringing Śreṇika in front of him busied herself in the worship of Mahāvīra.

"Mahāvīra preached. Congregetion dispersed. Observing the divine affluence of Śreṇika, some of the monks wondered. 'Blessed is Śreṇika Bhambhasāra to have Chelaṇā as his queen and Magadha as his kingdom. If our austerites are fruitful, then we should enjoy as their fruits. such delightful pleasures.' Similarly observing the divine splendour of the queen, some of the nuns too had the desire to have similar pleasures.

"Mahāvīra, by his power of knowledge, knew about these desires of monks and nuns. He at once ordered the monks to assemble and explained them the evil consequences of such desires. The monks and nuns repented for having such desires."

This reference is a source of information about deep reverance that Śreṇika Bhambhasāra had towards Mahāvīra, as well as it points to the fact that this should be the first meeting of Śreṇika with Mahāvīra. Here it is Chelaṇā who leads Śreṇika to Mahāvīra and after introducing him sits for the audience. While Chelaṇā, was a follower of Nirgrantha tradition by birth, Śreṇika on the other hand was in the beginning a follower of another faith. It was by her efforts that Śreṇika became a follower of Jainism. The fact that Chelaṇā led and

introduced Śreṇika to Mahāvīra, supports our deduction that it was Śreṇika's first visit to the latter. That monks and nuns desired specific rewards for their austerities after observing Śreṇika's and Chelanā's grandeur also endorses this fact.

In the *Anuttarovavaidasa Agama*, another episode is described thus : King Śreṇīka after having paid his venerations to Lord Mahāvīra at the end of sermon, asked, "O Lord ! Who amongst the fourteen thousand monks such as Indrabhūti is the foremost in observing austerities and thus purifying his self ?" The Lord replied, "Śreṇika ! The monk named Dhanya is the foremost observer of austerities and purifier of the self." King Śreṇika was very happy to hear this. He went to Monk Dhanya and complimented him, "O beloved of gods ! Blessed you are. Lucky you are." Then he came back to Lord Mahāvīra, paid his venerations to him and returned to his palace.[1]

In the thirteenth chapter of *Nayadhammakahao* also, a description of Śreṇika's visit to Mahāvīra with full retinue is given.

Initiation of Princes into the Monastic Order

On the occassion of the initiation of Prince Meghakumāra, Śreṇīka pronounced a euology on the Nirgrantha religion thus, "Nirgrantha religion is true, paramount, perfect, leading to salvation, logical, and unique. To become a monk in such a religion is extremely difficult."[2] Śreṇika's another

1. Ch. III, para 4.
2 *Navadhammakahao*, I/1.

prince, Nandisena was also ordained in the order of Mahāvīra.[1]

We also find a reference that once Śreṇika announced in a meeting of his royal family, knights and ministers, "If anyone wishes to get initiated by Lord Mahāvīra, I will not prevent him."[2] Inspired by this announcement twenty-three of his princes such as Jālī, Māyālī, etc. got initiated by Mahāvīra.[3] Also thirteen of his queens including Nandā, Nandamatī, etc. entered into Mahāvira's order of nuns.[4]

Prophecy

Once King Śreṇika was sitting near Lord Mahāvīra in the *Samavasaraṇa* (the god-made place for the sermons of the *Tirthankara*). At that time a man, whose body was in advanced stage of laprosy, came there, bowed, and sat down near the king. Just then Lord Mahāvīra sneezed and the leper said, "Die." When Śreṇika sneezed, the leper said, "Live." Prince Abhayakumāra also sneezed. The leper said, "Live or die." Butcher Kālasaurika sneezed and the leper said, "Do not live nor die." The king, hearing these absurd words of the leper, asked his soldiers to seize him. But when the soldiers made an attempt to capture him. he flew up in the air and became invisible.

Caught by surprise, the king asked Lord Mahāvīra about the wonderful episode. Mahāvīra said, 'The

1. *Trisastisalaka-purusacharitram*, book X, canto VI.
2. *Mahaviracharitam* by Gunachandra, p. 334.
3. *Anuttaraovavaiadasanga*, part I, chrs. 1-10; part II, chrs. 1-13.
4. *Antagadadasanga*, part VII, chrs. 1-13.

leper was not a human being. He was a *deva* (god) in disguise and whatever he uttered was not at all absurd. He asked me to die for I shall attain emancipation after death. He told you to live because after death you will be born in hell. He said to Abhayakumāra, 'Live or die'. because he is devoted to righteous life while he lives and will take birth as a god in the Anuttaravimāna (the highest category of the gods) after the death. When he asked Butcher Kālasaurika not to live nor to die, the significance was that the butcher was devoted to evil while living and would go to the seventh hell (the worst of all hells) after death."

King Śreṇika after hearing from Mahāvīra that he himself would have to go to hell in the next life, was astounded. He bowed to Mahāvīra and asked, "How shall I, the follower of you, Lord Mahāvīra ! have an existence in hell ? Is it the result of my devotion to thee ?"

Mahāvīra said to the king, "No, it is not so. In past, on account of deep interest in hunting, you had already acquired the sin (Karma) responsible for birth in hell. The result of following my path will be that just after the end of your infernal life, you will be born again as a human being, and just as I am the last (twenty-fourth) Tīrthaṅkara (Lord) of the present lineage of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, you will become the first, named Padmanābha, Tīrthaṅkara of the future lineage of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras." Hearing this great prophecy, King Śreṇika became extremely happy.

1. The detailed description of Padmanabha Tirthankara is given in the *Thananga Sutra*, 9/3/693.

Śreṇika at once asked Mahāvīra, "Is there any means by which I can escape hell ?"

Mahāvīra replied, "If you make Kapilā, the Brāhmani, give alms cheerfully with devotion to sādhus ; if you make Butcher Kālasaurika give up slaughtering even for a day, then you would be saved from rebirth in hell, not otherwise, O King !"

King Śreṇika at once persuaded Kapilā as well as Kālasaurika, but both of them refused to do as Śreṇika said. When Kapilā was forced to give alms, she said, "I am not giving alms ; it is the king who is giving alms." For preventing the butcher from killing the animals, the king made to keep him in a dry well, and kept him prisoner a day and night, but the butcher made five hundred buffaloes out of clay and killed them.[1] In fact both the means suggested by Mahāvīra were impossible happenings and hence, the hell was also unavoidable for Śreṇika. Mahāvīra had only suggested them to enlighten Śreṇika.

Royal Monk Prasannachandra

The Jain literature is replete with accounts of the dialogues between Mahāvīra and King Śreṇika. One of these interesting allusion is in the context of royal monk Prasannachandra.

Prasannachandra was the king of Potanapura. When Mahāvīra went to Potanapura, King Prasannachandra enlightened by his sermons, joined the monks' order. Once Mahāvīra accompanied by

1. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacharitram*, book X, canto IX, vv. 59-138.

his order of monks went to Rājagṛha. There monk Prasannachandra took to meditation standing just outside the *samavasarana* of Lord Mahāvīra. At that time, King Śreṇika accompanied by his full retinue happend to pass the site while going to pay his visit to Mahāvira. One of his generals named Durmukha, seeing the royal monk, Prasannachandra, was filled with malice towards him. He started gossiping with his collegues, "This monk is a sham as well as unenlightened. He has yoked his son who is still a minor to the burden of the kingdom and himself has pretended to renounce the world. His ministers have now conspired with the enemy-king to deprive the boy-king of his kingdom."

When Prasannachandra, the royal king, standing in meditation over-heard these words, his mind was overcome with anger and hate towards the ministers and the enemies. Standing even in meditation-posture Prasannachandra reflected that if he were there, he would have punished them. With such reflections Prasanna, untranquil from these doubts, forgot his monkhood. Thinking himself a king, he began to fight in his mind.

Meanwhile, King Śreṇika, after having paid his respects to Monk Prasannachandra reach Mahāvīra's *Samavasarana* and after bowing Lord Mahāvīra, asked him, "If the royal sage, Prasannachandra would die just now while he is engaged in meditation, where would he take his rebirth ?"

Mahāvīra replied, "He will go to the seventh hell." King Śreṇika was stunned by the answer. To verify that he had heard properly, he again asked the same question after a while. Mahāvīra replied,

"If Prasannachandra dies just now, he would attain the highest category of devas (gods), called Sarvārthasiddha." King Śreṇika was yet more confounded by this double explanation. Resolving Śreṇika's ambiguity Mahāvīra said, "You need not get bewildered. It is the mental attitude which counts. When you were asking the first question, Prasannachandra's mind was engaged in the fight against his ministers, etc. Due to high intensity of anger, he would have certainly gone to the seventh hell, if he would have died then. But, at the time of your second question, state of his mind had totally changed. He had recovered himself from the sinful thinking and again established himself in spiritual meditation by that time." No sooner had Mahāvīra completed his sentence than the god's drums were heard proclaiming that the royal sage, Prasnnachandra had achieved omniscience. Śrenika rejoiced at glory of the Jain order.[1]

According to the *Chaupannamahapurusa chariyam*, Indra, once praised Śrenika saying, "There is none equal to Śreṇika in religious devotion and faith." One of the gods got enraged at this and decided to test Śreṇika. At the end of his test when he found that Śrenika was indeed a staunch devotee of the Nirgrantha religion, he felt happy. Pleased with his devotion, the god gave Śreṇika a gift of a necklace of eighteen strands which attained the historical importance later, being the bone of contention

1. *Trisastisalaka-purusacharitram*, book X, canto IX, vv. 21-50; cf. English translation by Helen M. Johnson, vol. VI, pp. 230-32.

of the two wars viz. "Rathamusala" and "Mahāsilākaṇṭaka".[1]

According to the Digambara tradition of the Jains. Mahāvīra delivered his first sermon on Mt. Vipulāchala near Rājagṛha on the first day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvana. Śreṇika, king of Magadha, was present with his family and full retinue, in the congregession. He was the leader of the male laity, while Queen Chelanā was the leader of the female laity.[2]

Follower of Mahavira or Buddha

When we consider the above proofs provided by the Jains, undoubtedly Śreṇika emerges as a staunch follower of Mahāvīra. On the other hand, if proofs given by both the Jains and the Buddhists are considered simultaneously and impartially, neither of them outweighs the other. Although it is difficult to adjudge any particular side to be stronger in proving Śreiṇka as its follower, it can undoubtedly be said that, a chronological examination of the above proofs provided by both sides would prove many of them to be of later origin that is appended from time to time as legendary literature. As for instance, Rhys Davids[3] says, "And so, I would submit, stands the case also with our present Sutta (the Kūṭadanta Sutta). The whole legend is obviously invented ad hoc. It details are not meant to be taken seriously as historical place......The Brahman Kūṭadanta (pointed tooth) is mentioned nowhere

1. Detailed description follows on pp. 59-65.
2. *Bharatiya Itihasa ; Eka Dristi*, p. 65.
3. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part I, p. 163.

else, and is very likely meant to be rather the hero of a tale than an historical character."

Edward J. Thomas, the author of the *Life of Buddha,* commenting on the episode of Bimbisāra's first meeting with Buddha, observes : "Here we have an earlier account which like the earliest Pāli knows nothing of the Bimbisāra story."[1] He further remarks ; "Another indication that the Bimbisāra story is an addition is that in the canonical account Gotama does not reach the Magadha country until after leaving both his teachers."[2] Concluding his comments on the chief events of the six years of austerities, Thomas writes : "Between the canonical account and the story usually told there is a gap of several centuries. Even the canonical story is not contemporary tradition, and the first question to ask is not whether the additional stories are historical, but whether they are as old as canonical account. In some cases they contradict it ; others contradict one another, and have the appearance of commentators' inventions which have developed differently in different schools. This is seen not only in the various elaboration of Buddha's contest with Māra, but in different accounts of his meditation under the rose-apple tree, his journey to Rājagṛha or Vesāli, and his first words. The meeting with Bimbisāra is not only told variously, but is inserted in the narrative at different places."[3]

Critical examination of the Jain proofs also renders some of them to be merely legendary. It

1. *Life of Buddha*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, Third Edition, 1949, p. 68.
2. Ibid., p. 68, foot-note 2.
3. *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 79-80.

would be rather difficult to distinguish decisively between the real and imaginary proofs, whatever they may be. After all it is only our speculation on the basis of which, we class some to be imaginary. Under the circumstances it would be impossible to reach a positive decision by distinguishing between reality and imagination.

The only criterion that can solve this problem decisively is the chronological consideration of Mahāvīra, Buddha and Bimbisāra. On the basis of the comparative study of the *Agamas* and the *Tripitakas*, it is found that Mahāvīra was born in 599 B.C.. renounced the world in 569 B C., achieved omniscience in 557 B.C. and attained the *Nirvana* in 527 B.C. ; while Buddha was born in 582 B. C., renounced the world in 554 B. C., achieved enlightenment in 547 B. C. and attained the *Nirvana* in 502 B. C. Also the dates of accession and death of Bimbisāra are found to be 582 B. C. and 544 B. C. respectively.[1] It, therefore, follows that the period of contemporaneity of Bimbisāra with omniscient Mahāvīra is thirteen years, while that of Bimbisāra with enlightened Buddha is just three years. And during these three years too Mahāvīra was living. Mahāvīra sojourned at Rājagṛha during his first monsoon after omniscience. At the commencement of this sojourn,[2] Śreṇika accepted *samyakatva* i. e. formal expression of faith in *Nirgrantha* religion, while Abhayakumāra etc. accepted *sravakatva*, i. e. faith in Nirgrantha religion together with the lay-

1. For detailed account of the chronological facts, see the author's *The Contemporaneity and Chronology of Mahavira and Buddha.*
2. *Tirthankara Mahavira*, part II, p. 11.

disciple's vows.[1] The fact of acceptance of Nirgrantha faith by Śreṇika has already been mentioned in the context of Śramaṇa Anāthī. His acceptance before Mahāvīra might therefore be a formal ceremony only. There is no doubt whatsoever that Śreṇika's intimate contact with Mahāvīra commenced the very first year after his omniscience. The fact that he freely permitted his princes and queens to be initiated in the monastic order and participated in the celebration of these occasions, could only be construed to be the result of such an intimate contact. Initiation ceremony of Meghakumāra and Nandiseṇa had taken place in this very first year.[2] Śrenika's extreme devotion towards Mahāvīra might well be the reason why the latter had spent numerous rainy seasons at Rājagṛha.

Śrenika was devout by nature. It cannot, therefore, be conceived that inspite of repeated sojourns of Mahāvīra in Rājagṛha, even prior to Buddha's enlightenment, Śrenika would not have become his follower. At the same time it is hardly probable that he would be proselytised during the last three years of his life, when Mahāvīr ahimself was alive and specially when many of his queens and princes had already been initiated by him. Pt. Dalashukhbhāi

1 (a) *Srutva tam desanam bhartuh samyaktvam sreniko (a) srayat.*
Sravakadharmam tvabhayakumaradya prapedire.
—*Trisastisalaka-purusacharitram, book X, canto V, v. 376.*

(b) *Emai dhammakaham soum, seniya nivaiya bhavva.*
Sama tampaddivanna, kei puna desavirayai.
—Nemi Chandra, *Mahavira Chariyam, v. 1294.*

2 *Tirthankara Mahavira*, part II, pp. 11-16.

Mālavaṇia contends that Śreṇika was converted to Buddhism later on, because Mahāvīra predicted his next life in hell.[1] We cannot, however, agree with his view because if such was the case, why Mahāvīra should have simultaneously prophesied his becoming *Tirthankara* like himself, named Padmanābha, immediately after being released from his hell-life.

It has been mentioned in the Buddhist work *Mahavamsha*, that Buddha was five years older than Bimbisāra.[2] Bimbisāra ascended the throne at the age of fifteen and reigned for fifty-two years. Buddha attained the enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and Bimbisāra sought refuge in Buddha and his religion in the 16th year of his reign and the 31st year of his life. Thus he lived for 37 years in the presence of enlightened Buddha, while Buddha attained the *Nirvana* eight years after Ajātaśatru's accession to the throne. But this information furnished by *Mahavamsha* is not consistent with the facts described in the Tripitakas.[3]

1. *Sthananga-samavayanga* (Gujarati translation), p. 41.
2. Ch. II, vv. 26-32.
3. For the detailed discussion of the discrepancies in the chronology of *Mahavamsha*, see the author's *Contemporaneity and Chronology of Mahavira and Buddha*, pp. 108-15. For example, take the belief that Buddha attained the Nirvana in the eighth year of Ajatasatru's reign. But the events of the life of Buddha, described in the *Tripitakas*, clearly imply that Ajatsatru's accession had already taken place during the first twenty years of Buddha's life after his enlightenment. It means that Buddha must have lived at least for another twenty-five years after the accession of Ajatasatru. For according to the *Samnnaphala Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya*, Ajatasatru (king of Magadha) only once

One more proof of Śreṇika's staunchness in the Nirgrantha religion is that the number of initiations of his queens and princes in the Buddhist order is quite negligible compared to that of the Jain order.

We also find evidence of Śreṇika being a Jain hereditarily. His father is said to have faith (*Samyaktva*) in the religion of Pārśva and to have accepted the lay-disciple's vows[1] (aṇuvratas). According to Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayasawal, the noted historian, the ancestors of Śreṇika had migrated to Magadha from Kāśī.[2] It is also believed that it was the same dynasty of Kāśī in which Tīrathaṇkara Pārśva was born.[3] On the basis of this belief it may be concluded that the Jain religion was Śreṇika's family-faith. According to the Jain narrative, although Śreṇika was a Jain by family-faith, he had relinquished it temporarily during his

called on Buddha (Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 88) during a "rainy season" passed in the Rajagrha. However the *Atthakatha of the Anguttara Nikaya* tells us that Buddha passed only the second, third, fourth, seventeenth and twentieth "rainy season", after the enlightenment, at Rajagrha. Of the forty-six "rainy seasons", the remaining twenty five were spent at Sravasti and the last at Vaisali. Then, how is it possible that Ajatasatru's accession took place only seven or eight years before Buddha's *Nirvana* and that he met Buddha only seven or eight years before his *Nirvana*.

1. *Srimatparsvajinadhisa-sasanambhojasatpadah'*
Samyagdarsana-punyatma, so(a)nuvratadharobharat.
—*Trisastisalaka-purusacharitram*, book X, canto VI, v. 8.

2. Quoted by Dr. J.P. Jain in his *Bhartiya Itihasa* : *Eka Dristi*, p. 62. (Bhartiya Jnanapitha, Banaras, 1957.)

3. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

exile in his princehood. It might be that, during that period he might have followed the lax Śramaṇas who were referred to in the course of discussion with Śramaṇa Anāthī. It is quite natural that Śreṇika, whose father and forefathers were Jain, should have been also Jain by brith.

It is undoubtedly true that during the last three years of his life, Śreṇika was in contact with Buddha and his order. This relation, however, does not seems to be more profound than a mere courteous and sympathetic one.

The above statement is corroborated by the fact that, Rājagṛha was the chief centre of activities of Mahāvīra and his order. Mahāvīra himself passed fourteen "rainy seasons" there and also often visited it during the other months of the year. Also people of Rājagṛha were followers of Pārśva, the preceeding Tīrthaṅkara even before the advent of Mahāvīra. It, therefore, cannot be doubted that Śreṇika's discipleship was one of the chief factors in making Rājagṛha the main centre of activities of Mahāvīra and the Nirgrantha (Jain) order.

It was not Rājagṛha but Śrāvastī which was the centre of activities of Buddha and the Buddhist order. There only were situated the Jetavana of Anāthapiṇḍaka and the Purvārama of Mrigārmātā. There too was the King Prasenajit, one of the foremost followers of Buddha. It was there that Buddha sojourned twenty-six "rainy seasons", while only five at Rājagṛha. On the other hand Mahāvīra passed only one "rainy season" at Śrāvastī. It is remarkable that just as Mahāvīra prophesied for Śreṇika to become a Tīrathaṅkara, Buddha predic-

ted for Prasenjit to become a Buddha.[1] On the whole it appears that Śreṇika was the follower of Mahāvīra, and Prasenjit was the follower of Buddha.

Famous historian Dr. V. A. Smith expressed the same opinion. He writes : "He (Śrenika) appears to have been a Jaina in religion, and sometimes coupled by Jaina tradition with Ashoka's grandson, Samprati, a notable patron of the creed of Mahāvīra."[2] Dr. Smith further concludes : "Being related through his mother to the reigning kings of Videha, Magadha and Anga, he (Mahāvīra) was in a position to gain official patronage for his teaching, and is recorded to have been in personal touch with both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, who seem to have followed his doctrine."[3]

CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE NAMES

Bhimbhisara etc.

In the Jain canons the names such as Bhambhasāra, Bhimbhasāra and Bhimbhisāra have been frequently used for Bimbisāra.[4] The word Bhambhāsāra is mostly used in the later

---

1. *Anagatavamsa* ; *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. II. p. 174.
2. *The Oxford History of India*, p. 45,
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2.
4. (*a*) Senie bhambhasare.

   —*Nayadhammakahao*, book I, chapter XIII, p. 1896) (Surat, 1951).

   (*b*) Senie bhambhasare...Senie bhimbhasare

   —*Uvavai Sutra*, 1/7, p. 23 ; 1/9, p. 25 ; 1/29, p. 115, (Surat, 1937).

   (*c*) Senie bhimbhisare.

   —*Thananga Sutra*, chapter IX, p. 458 b (Surat, 1920)-

Sanskrit and Prakrit works.[1] The words *Bhambha*, *Bhimbha* and *Bhimbhi* are all synonyms used in the sense of 'kettle-drum' (*Bheri*).[2] The episode which brought about this name has been described in several works as follows : Once when the princes' palace caught fire, all the princes fled taking with them various precious things which each considered most valuable. Śreṇika, however, considering the kettle-drum as the sign of victory of kings, took it with him. That is how he acquired an *alias* Bhambhāsāra.[3]

Vijayendra Suri, the famous Jain author, considers Bhambhāsāra as the only true form ; and has tried[4] to prove all others to be incorrect. But this does not appear to be proper. In fact, all these versions are found in the original *Agamas* in several places. Even if we accept Vijayendra Suri's contention that words *Bhimbha*, etc. are not synonymous with *Bhambha* the fact remains that they have been appended to "Śreṇika". Thus, they being proper nouns convey the meaning conferred to them. The question of canonical proper nouns to be incorrect does not arise at all. Vijayendra Suri corroborates his contention by quoting *Thananga Commentary*— " '*Bhambha' iti dhakka sa saro yasya sa Bhambha-*

1. *Abhidhana Chintamani* ; section III, v. 376 : *Upadeshamala* with commentary, p. 334. ; *Rshi Mandal Prakaran*, p. 143. *Sri Bharateshwara Bhahubali* Commentary, part I, p. 22 ; Avashyaka Churni, vol. II, p. 158.
2. *Paiya-Sadda-Mahannavo*, pp. 794, 807.
3. Seniya kumarena puno jayadhakka kaddhiya pavisiunam, Piuna tatthena tao bhaniyo so bhambhasaro.
   —*Upadheshamala* with commentary, p. 334*a*.
4. *Tirthankara Mahavira*, part II , pp. 630-633.

sarah". It appears to be an optical illusion that he has made use of this quotation to prove his contention. On the contrary the fact is that in the edition of *Thananga Commentary*, from which he quotes this line, is given—" '*Bhimbhi' tti..................Sa tatha (Bhimbhisarah).*"[1] The original canonical text which has been commented upon here clealy reads—"*Senie raya Bhimbhisare.*" The commentator Sri Abhayadeva Suri also makes it clear in that context,—"*tena kumratve pradipanake jayadhakka gehanniskasita tatah pitra Bhimbhisara uktah.*"[2] Dr. Pischel also endorses the form 'Bhimbhisāra'.[3]

Bimbisara

According to the Buddhist tradition, Śrenika has another *alias* viz. Bimbisāra. *Bimbi* means gold, and because he had golden complexion he was named Bimbisāra.[4] According to the Tibetan sources, Bimbi was the name of Śreṇika's mother, and therefore, he was Bimbisāra.[5]

The forms Bhimbhisāra and Bimbisāra are obviously very similar to each other. Although their similarity is a matter of research, it seems that the same name has been adopted in two forms due to the differences in dialect and pronunciation.

Srenika

The name Śreṇika (Prākrit Seṇiya and Pāli Seniya) is common to both the Jain and the Buddhist traditions. In both the traditions, however, Śreṇika

1. Published by Agamodaya Samiti, Surat, 1919.
2. p. 461 a.
3. *Grammatic Der Prakrit Sprachen*, para 201.
4. *Udana Atthakatha*, 104.
5. W.W. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 16.

is generally referred to as 'Seṇie Bhimbhisrāe' and 'Seniya Bimbisāra' respectively. In both, the etymological interpretation of the word Šreṇika is almost similar. According to the Jain sources, because he established *Srenis* (i.e. different classes of artisans) he was named Šreṇika.[1] According to the Buddhist sources, he was called Šreṇika since he was proclaimed lord of eighteen Šreṇis (classes) of artisans.[2] In both the traditions the number of *Srenis* is eighteen.[3] Even the names of the *Srenis* are almost similar. The Jain canon *Jambudivapannatti* describes in great details the eighteen classes of artisans comprising nine *Naru*[4] and nine *Karu*.[5] But the Buddhist sources do not furnish the names of these Šreṇis either uniformly or systematically. Although the names given in *Mahavastu*[6] are very much similar to those found in the *Jambudivapannatti*, their number has been increased to thirty. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has compiled twenty-seven names of *Srenies* calling them from various sources. It is clear that he has not cared to look up the *Jambudivapannatti*; otherwise he

1. *Srenih kayati srenika magadheshwarah.*
   AbluJhana Chintamani, with the Author's Commentar y, *martya kanda*, verse 376.
2. *Sapitrastadasasu srenisvavataritah, atosya srenyo bimbisara iti khyatah.*
   —*Vinaya Pitaka*, Gilgit Manuscript.
3. *Jambudivapannatti*, *Vaksasakara III*; *Jataka Atthakatha*, *Mugapakkhajataka*, *no*. 538.
4. Kumbhara, pattaella, suvanakara; suvakara ya. Gandhavva. kasavagga, malakara. kachchhakara. Tamboliya ya ee navappayara ya narua bhania.
5. Aha nam navappayara karuavanne pavakkhami. Chammyaru, jamtapilaga, gamchhia chhimpaya, kamsareya. Sivaga guara, bhillaga dhivara, vannai atthadasa
6. Vol. III, p. 113 and pp. 442-43.

would have no occasion to write that it is difficult to know what these eighteen Śreṇies, are. [1]Some *Buddhist Commentators* (such as Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla) explain Seniya as meaning "possesed of a large army (Senā)" or "belonging to Seniya *gotra.*"[2]

Father's Name

As per the Śwetāmber tradition of the Jains, Śreṇika's father's name was Prasenjit.[3] The *Uttarapurana*[4] of the Digambara tradition, on the other hand, gives his father's name as Kūṇika; which is obviously incorrect. Digambara Achārya Hariṣena in his work *Brhatkathakosa*(story 55) mentions Śreṇika's father's name as Upaśreṇika.[5] It is also mentioned that Upaśreṇika banished Śreṇika from his kindom and appointed Śreṇika's step brother Chilāti as his successor. Chilāti, however, failed to administer state-affairs properly. Hence the ministers dethroned him and made Śreṇika the king. Chilāti then renounced the world and became a Jain ascetic.[6] *Srimad Bhagavat Purana* calls Śrenika as Vidhisāra and his father as Kṣetrajña. Elsewhere his father's names are given as Bhattiya, Mahāpadma, Hemajīt, Kṣetroja, Ksetprojā, etc.[8]

Queens

The Jain works give names of twenty-five queens.

1. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, vol. II, p. 18.
2. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. II, pp. 289, 1284.
3. *Trisastisalaka-purusacharitram*, bk. X, canto VI, verse I.
4. 74/418.
5. *Tatopasrenika raja............*
6. Dr. Kamta Prasad Jain, *Some Jaina Kings and Heroes*, p. 12 (Jain Mitra Mandal, Delhi, 1941).
7. 12/1.
8. *H. C. Raychaudhury Political History of Ancient India*, p. *205*

Names of thirteen queens—Nandā etc. and ten queens—Kālī, Sukālī etc. are found in the *Antagadadasao.* They were all initiated by Mahāvīra after Śreṇika's demise. We have seen Chelanā being mentioned as the principal queen in the *Dasasuyakkhandha.* There appears in the *Nisitha]* *Churni*[1] name of a queen *Apatagandha* which is not so well known. The *Nayadhammakahao*[2] gives detailed description of Queen Dhāriṇi of Śreṇika.

According to the *Vinay Pitaka,* King Bimbisāra had five hundred wives.[3] A physician, Jivaka Kaumāra Bhṛtya cured Bimbisāra of fistula with one single anointing; pleased, the king offered him the ornaments of the five hundred women of the palace. It cannot be ascertained whether these five hundred women were Śreṇika's queens. The Buddhist tradition mentions Kosaladevī, sister of the King Prasenjit, as Bimbisāra's chief queen. Bimbisāra received, as dowry, a village fetching one lakh *Karsapana* as revenue[4]. Queen Khemā was princess of Madra country. She was proud of her beauty. Ultimately she was enlightened and was initiated by Buddha.[5] Padmāvatī, a courtesan of Ujjaini, is also believed to be Sreṇika's wife.[6] In the *Amitayurdhyanu Sutra*[7] a reference is found to Vedehi Vāsavī as a queen of Bimbisāra. The Jain and the

1 With *Bhasya,* part I, p. 17.
2. Ch. I, aph. 8 (p. 14a).
3. *Mahavagga,* 8-1-15.
4. Jataka, 2-403 ; *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names,* vol. II, p. 286.
5. *Therigatha Atthakatha,* 139-143.
6. *Therigatha,* 31-32.
7. *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. XLIX, p. 166.

Buddhist versions about the queens of Bimbisāra are disparate. It seems that Bimbisāra had many wives, and the tradition with which these queens were mainly connected has referred to them in its works. It is also possible that some of the queens might have been referred to in both the traditions under different names.

Princes

Prince Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) was heir-apparent to Śreṇika. The Buddhist tradition refers to some of the princes. Abhayakumāra is mentioned as the son of a courtesan queen, Padmāvatī [1] Another son of Bimbisāra born to Courtesan Ambapālī was Vimal Kondañña who later became a Buddhist monk.[2] Sīlavā is also mentioned as Bimbisāra's son. His brother Ajātaśatru wished to kill him, but failed, owing to Sīlavā's destiny. Later on, Sīlavā became a monk and also an *arhat*.[3] Another son of Bimbisāra was Jayasena.[4]

In the Jain tradition an elaborate description of many princes beside Kūṇika is to be found. The *Anuttarovavaiya*[5] gives an account of the following ten princes; (1) Jālī (2) Mayālī (3) Uvayālī (4) Purimseṇa (5) Vārisena (6) Dīhadanta (7) Laṭṭhadanta (8) Vehalla (9) Vehāyasa and (10) Abhayakumāra. Out of these the first seven were the sons of Queen Dhāriṇī, Vehalla and Vehāyasa of Queen

---

1. *Therigatha*, 31-32.
2. *Theragatha-Atthakatha*, 64.
3. *Theragatha*, 608-619.
4. *Majjhima Nikaya-Atthakatha*, 2/932.
5. *Navaram satta dharini-sua, vehalla vehasa chellanae...,*
Abhayassa nanatam rayagihe navare seniye raya nanda devi.
—*Anuttrovavaiya, varga I.*

Chelaṇā and Abhayakumāra of Queen Nandā. The same canon in the context of another event mentions the following thirteen princes : (1) Dīhaseṇa (2) Mahāseṇa (3) Laṭṭhadanta (4) Gūḍhadanta (5) Suddhadanta (6) Halla (7) Duma (8) Dumaseṇa (9) Mahādumaseṇa (10) Sīha (11) Sīhaseṇa (12) Mahāsīhaseṇa and (13) Puṇṇaseṇa. In the Nirayāvaliyā the following ten princes are mentioned to be the sons of Queen Kālī, Queen Sukālī and other queens : (1) Kālakumāra (2) Sukālakumāra, (3) Mahākālakumāra (4) Kaṇhakumāra (5) Sukaṇhakumāra (6) Mahākaṇhakumāra (7) Virakaṇhakumāra (8) Rāmakaṇhakumāra (9) Seṇakaṇhakumāra (10) Mahāseṇakaṇhakumāra. The two princes—Meghakumāra and Nandīṣeṇa[2] are renowned in the Jain traditions.

The Jain canons do not merely mention the names of these princes, but also furnish their detailed life-sketches in proper context. Out of these princes, Kālakumāra and other nine were killed in Mahāsilakaṇṭaka war[3] and while the remaining ones were initiated as monks.

1. *Nayadhammakahao*, chapter I.
2. *Trisaṣṭisalaka-purusacharitram*, 10/6.
3. Description of this war is given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

AJĀTAŚATRU KŪṆIKA

In both the Buddhist and the Jain traditions Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) enjoys an equally important place. Both the traditions consider him as their follower and have their own grounds for such belief.

Buddhist Account

According to the Buddhist tradition, the meeting between Ajātaśatru and Buddha, alluded to in the *Samannaphala Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* was the first one. In the meeting he became a devotee of Buddha, his religion and order.[1] Another instance of Ajātaśatru's devotion towards Buddha is found in his building a great *stupa* over Buddha's ashes. When Buddha's ashes were being distributed, Ajātaśatru sent a message to the Mallas of Kuśinārā, saying "Buddha was a *Ksatriya*, I am also a *Ksatriya*. I must also get a share of his ashes." On the advice of Brahamin Droṇa he got a share and built a *stupa* thereon.[2]

According to the *Samannaphala Sutta*, on the night of Kārtik Purṇimaā, (full moonday) Ajātaśatru

---

1. *Esaham, bhante, bhagvantam saranam gachchhami dhammam cha bhikkhu sangham cha. Upasakam mam bhagva dharetu ajjatagge panupetam saranam gatam.*
—*Digha Nikaya*, 1/2/6, p. 75 (Nalanda edition).
2. Pt. Rahula Samkrtyayana, *Buddhacharya*, p. 509.

came to know of Buddha from his state physician, Jivaka Kaumara Bhṛtya and immediately he visited Buddha with his five hundred queens riding on five hundred elephants. It is difficult to say when Ajātaśatru had his first interview with Mahāvīra. Available records of his interviews with Mahāvīra indicate only old acquaintance and deep devotion.

Jain Description

The first Upānga, *Uvavai* throws light primarily on the relations of Kūṇika with Mahāvīra. Here is also given a fine description of his capital Champānagarī and the administration of his kingdom. Elucidating the devotion of Kūṇika towards Mahāvīra, it states that he had appointed an information officer (*Pravrtti Vaduka*) who received a high salary. His duty was to keep him abreast of Mahāvīra's everyday activities. Under him, he had several workers who were also highly paid. Through them the information officer used to receive everyday news of Mahāvīra and conveyed the same to Kūṇika.[1]

The description of the advent of Mahāvīra to Champānagarī and Kūṇika's devotion towards him in the *Uvavai Sutra* is very vivid and inspiring. Had it been the subject of the review of the research scholars, like *Samannaphala Sutta*, it would have been equally significant. The fact is that the research made on the *Agamas* is not so copious as that on the *Tripitakas*. If this research were undertaken,

---

1. *Tassanam koniassa ranno ekke purise viulakaye vittie bhagavao pavittivaue, bhagavao taddevasiam pavittim niveai. Tassanam purisassa bahave anne purisa dinna-bhatti bhattaveana bhagavao pavittivaua bhagavao taddevasiam pavittim nivedenti.*

many important issues would have received definite and decisive solutions. The *Tripitakas* are not so informative about Ajātaśatru (Kūṇika) as are the *Agamas*.

Massage of Mahavira's Arrival

On hearing the news of Mahāvīra's arrival in the suburbs of Champānagarī with his 14000 monks and 36000 nuns, the information officer was very much pleased and happy. After taking a bath he put on an auspicious dress, and adorned himself with very light but very precious ornaments. He then proceeded to the State assembly of Kūṇika. the son of Bimbisāra. through the Champānagarī. With his greetings for the king's victory. he spoke. "Beloved of the gods ! Śramaṇa Lord Mahāvīra. whom you wish to pay respects, whose very glimpse is most pleasing to your heart and is invigorating for you, and whose name and clan is a source of great happiness to your honour, touring from village to village, has reached the suburbs of Champānagarī and is about to arrive at Pūrṇa Bhadra Chaitya. May this news be pleasing to you."

Kūṇika, son of Bimbisāra, was very happy to hear this message from the information officer. His eyes and face became bright and radiant. He at once got up from his throne and took off his sandals. All the five signs of royalty[1] were cast aside. Having taken *Ekasatika Uttarasanga* (the traditional posture of paying homage) with folded hands, he walked seven or eight paces forward in

1. Sword, crown, the royal umbrella, sandals and the *chamara* (a sort of flapper made up of wild cow's tail used for flapping flies away ; also a symbol of kingship).

the direction of Mahāvīra. He drew in his left foot. Similarly, he moved his right foot down to the ground. He bowed down to the ground thrice, and then rising a little, folded his hands in reverence. Touching his forehead with the palm of his hand, he greeted Mahāvīra with "ṇamotthuṇam" (eulogy) and said, "My warmest respects to Śramaṇa Lord Mahāvīra, who is the pioneer, a Tīrthaṅkara.........
and desirous of attaining salvation, is my religious teacher and preceptor. From here I worship Lord Mahāvīra who takes notice of me from there."[1]

Having thus worshipped and paid homage to Lord Mahāvīra, Kūṇika re-ascended the throne. He awarded 108,000 silver coins to the information officer and ordered, "Inform me again when Lord Mahāvīra graces Champā with his visit and arrives at the Pūrṇa Bhadra Chaitya."

Arrival of Mahavira at Champa

Radiated by a thousand rays the sun rose in the sky. In the delightful atmosphere of the morning Lord Mahāvīra arrived at Champā and stayed in the Pūrṇa Bhadra Chaitya. Assuming an appropriate position, he took to inspiring his soul with self-restraint and austere living. All round and throughout the Champānagarī, there was a universal talk : "Śramaṇa Lord Mahāvīra has come over

---

1. *Namoatthunam samanassa bhagavao Mahavirassa adigarassa tithangarrassa......java sampaviukamass mama dhammayariyassa dhammovadesagassa, vandami nam bhagvantam tatthagayam iha passai me (me se) bhagavam, tatthagae ihagayam tikattu vandai namamsai.*

—*Uvavai* (*Aupapatika*) *Sutra*, Sutra 12.

here and is staying at Pūrṇa Bhadra Chaitya. Even the hearing of his name and clan is highly beneficial. What to speak of getting his holy glimpse. Beloved of the gods ! let us all go and pay our respectful homage to Lord Mahāvīra. It will be highly fruitful and bring happiness to us in this world and hereafter."

Thereafter people bathed, adorned themselves with beautiful dresses and ornaments and precious garlands of pearls. Some rode on horse-backs. some on elephants and some seated in palanquins and a considerable number on foot, set out for visiting Lord Mahāvīra.

The information officer gave this pleasant news to Kūṇika. The king rewarded him with a gift of 12,50,000 silver coins.[1] Kūṇika, son of Bimbisāra, called for the chief officer of the army and ordered, "Decorate the Hastiratna elephant. Arrange to get the army consisting of four divisions (horses, elephants, chariots and infantry) ready. Keep chariots ready for the chief queen, Subhadrā, and other queens, etc. to ride in. Cleanse City Champā inside and outside. Decorate the streets and highways. Prepare platforms for the spectators at different sites. I shall go to worship and rever Lord Mahāvīra."

1. There is no word "Silver" in the original text, but traditionally it is believed that a universal monarch's gift is of twelve and a half crore golden coins, a Vasudeva's of twelve and a half lac golden coins and a regional king's of twelve and a half lac silver coins. Cf. *Uvavai Sutra* (Hindi translation), p. 133 (Sailana, Madhya Pradesh, 1963).

All preparations were made in accordance with the king's orders. The king rode on the Hastiraṭna. Queen Subhadrā and other queens got into chariots. Thus the king with his great glory of the army proceeded to visit Lord Mahāvīra.[1] After driving through the central part of Champā City, the king reached the vicinity of Pūrṇa Bhadra Chaitya. The king from a distance saw Lord Mahāvīra's insignia of Tīrthaṅkara and left the Hastiratna He then cast aside all the five signs of royalty and came before Lord Mahāvīra. Having acquired the five essentials, he paid his homage and then sat down worshipping the Lord with mental, vocal und physical reverence.

Sermons of Mahavira

The Lord delivered sermons to the audience in Ardha Māgadhī dialect : "There exists universe, non-universe ; soul, matter, bondage. salvation, virtue, vice, attraction, prevention and effacement, anger. vanity, deceit, greed, etc. There also exist desisting from violence, falsehood, stealing, coition ......etc. All affirmations rest in existence, while all negations are with non-existence. Good acts result in good, while evil ones result in bad. Soul confronts with virtue and vice. Soul passes through the cycle of birth and death. There are two kinds of religion......one for the saints, and the other for the house-holders. The former consists of renouncing the worldly attachments and abstaining from violence, falsehood, etc., while the latter prescribes the twelve vows viz. five *Anuvratas*, three *Gunavratas*,

1. Consult "*the Uvavai Sutra*" for the detailed description of Kunika's grandeur, show and marching arrangements.

and four *Siksavratas*."[1] The assembly dispersed after attending the sermon. The king also got up and paying his homage thus said, "Lord, your Nirgrantha preachings (i.e. tenets of the Jain religion) are profound, emphatic, comprehensive and matchless. While preaching religion you have preached calmness, while explaining calmness you have explained prudence and so also non-indulgence, while discoursing about non-indulgence, you have preached for non-committing sinful deeds. There is no other Brāhmana or Śramaṇa who can preach religion so well; what to speak of anything more than this."[2] Submitting so, the king returned to wherefrom he came.[3]

Follower of Jainism or Buddhism ?

On comparative study of the *Samannaphala Sutta* and the chapter of the *Uvavai Sutra*, the latter one is found to be more proved and impressive. In the *Samannaphala Sutta* the only evidence of Ajātaśatru being a follower of Buddha is the statement that "O God, take me in thy shelter as thy fold-handed worshipper from to-day." In the chapter of the *Uvavai*, the appointment of information officer, king's getting off from the throne, his saluting with *Nammothunam* (the Jain tradition of paying reverence) and meeting with devotion are quite secure proofs of his being a follower of Lord Mahāvīra. The king's assertion that "there is no

1. For details, consult *Uvasagadasao* (Ed. N A Gore, Poona, 1953).
2. *Natthi nam anne kei samane va mahane va je erisam dhammam maikkhittae Kimanga puna etto uttarataram.*
   —Uvavai Sutra, Sutra 25.
3. Based on the *Uvavai Sutra.*

Brāhamaṇa or Śramaṇa who could preach such religion as you did," fully confirms and unequivocally establishes his faith in the Nirgrantha religion.

It appears that Ajātaśatru's submission to Buddha was just a formal thing. But never does it seem likely that in fact he ever became a follower of Buddha. King Ajātaśatru had only once met Buddha,[1] whereas he had often visited Mahāvīra.[2] Not only this, the king had even attended the religious discourses of Sudharmā Swāmi, the successor of Mahāvīra.[3]

Dr. Smith writes, "Both the Buddhists and the Jainas claimed him as one of themselves. The Jaina claim appears to be well founded."[4] According to Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Ajātaśatru was a follower of Mahāvīra in the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra.[5] He further states that, "As usual, the Jains give both Ajātaśatru and Udāibhadda a good character presumably for their faith in Jainism, the reason why their character is blackened by the Buddhist."[6]

There are many more reasons for Ajātaśatru not being a follower of Buddha, such as—his intimacy

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 88.
2. *Thananga Commentary*, 4-3.
3. *Parisista Parva*, *canto IV*, vv. 15-54.
4. V.A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Second edition, *Oxford*, 1923, p. 51.
5. *Hindu Civilization*, pp. 190-1 (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1964).
6. *Ibid*., p. 277.

with Devadatta, a rebel disciple of Buddha ; enmity with Vajjis, a favourite clan of Buddha ; his battle against Prasenjit, a staunch devotee and follower of Buddha.

The Buddhist tradition looks on him as a patricide,[1] while the Jain regards him as most humble to his father after the repentance foi his bad deed.[2] These references tend to show Ajātaśatru's distance from the former tradition and nearness to the latter.

Buddha's disregard for Ajātaśatru is clearly surmised from the fact that after the king had heard the discourses on *Samannaphala* and gone, Buddha addressed his disciples so : "The king does not have good thinking. He is an unfortunate king. Had he not murdered his religious minded ftaher, he could have attained, in his very present state, religious insight.[3] With reference to Devadatta, Buddha remarked, "Monks, he keeps friendship, and lives and remains in contact with Magadharāja Ajātaśatru, who is an evil man."[4]

Once Buddha was giving a discourse to King Bimbisāra in the royal palace. The child, Ajātaśartu, was seated in Bimbisāra's lap. Bimbisāra was not very attentive to the lessons, and was often caring to fondle Ajātaśatru. Then Buddha drew Bimbisāra's attention and narrated an anecdote of the substance

1. *Digha Nikaya, Samannaphala Sutta.*
2. *Uvavai Sutta* (Hindi Edition), p. 26; *Senaprasana*, chapter III, question 237.
3. *Digha Nikaya, Samannaphala Sutta.*
4. *Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga, Sanghabhedakakhandhaka*, 7.

in which he tried to convey that "you are much attached to him, but he shall be your killer."[1]

Ajātaśatru deputed his Minister Vassakāra to Buddha for desired conquest of the Vajjis. In fact this was nothing but a conspiracy to know about some secrets of victory. Had Ajātaśatru been a follower of Buddha, he would not have played such a deceitful trick.

It might be contented that Ajātaśatru's firmness in Buddhism is clearly expressed by the episode in which he got killed 500 *Niganthas* (Jain monks), believed to be the murderers of Maudgalyāyana, the chief disciple of Buddha.[2] But this is only mentioned in the *A*ṭṭhakathā (commentary) and thus has no greater importance than being merely a heresay. There are some more narrations in the *Atthakathas* such as following :—Who should inform Ajātaśatru of Buddha's death and how ; this was a problem for his ministers. They thought that the news should be so conveyed as not to shock the king's heart. Pretending to cure the effects of a bad dream, they arranged a *Chatur Madhu Snana* (bathing in four sweet liquids) and informed him of Buddha's *Nirvana* in that environment.

Even then Ajātaśatru fell into a trance as he heard the news. Twice again he was made to bathe in the *Chatur Madhu* and then only he regained consciousness and expressed deep regrets.[3] According to another tradition, Minister Vassakara made

---

1. *Jatakatthakatha, Thusa Jataka*, 238.
2. *Dhammapada-Atthakatha*, part III, p. *66* ff.
3. *Dhammapada-Atthakatha*, part II, pp. 605-6.

Buddha's death known to Ajātaśatru by showing him the pictorial biography of Buddha from birth to *Nirvana*.[1] These events attribute to Ajātaśatru's devotion for Buddha. But since these narrations. have been taken from the later works, they cannot be taken as authentic ones.

Devadatta's disciple, Upaka, the son of Miṇḍikā, after having discussions with Buddha came to Ajātaśatru and condemned Buddha. But Ajātaśatru got enraged and asked him to get away.[2] The *Atthakatha* makes further addition that Ajātaśatru got Upaka turned out by his servants with neck-grip.[3] This also is not a proof of Ajātaśatru being a follower of Buddha. A wise man deprecates those who speak low and unmannerly of others. Had Ajātaśatru been a devotee of Buddha, Upaka would not have dared to go to him and defile Buddha. It was only because he took Ajātaśatru to be his master Devadatta's well-wisher that he dared to do so.

There are certain references available in the later works which point to Ajātaśatru's antagonisms to Buddhism. According to the Avādānaśataka, King Bimbisara built a *stupa* on Buddha's nails and hairs during Buddha's life-time. Ladies of the harem used to worship this *stupa* with incences, flowers, etc. Ajātaśatru put a ban on this worship immediately after his accession to the throne. When Srīmatī, a lady of the harem still worshipped the *stupa*, she was awarded death penalty.[4] According to *Theragatha Atthakatha*,

1. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, p. 320.
2. *Anguttara Nikaya*, 4-8-188.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, p. 319.
4. *Avadanashataka*, 54.

Ajātaśatru even tried to get murdered his younger brother Sīlavā who later on became a Buddhist monk.[1]

These anecdotes do not support the contention that Ajātaśatru was a follower of Buddhism, but, on the contrary, they tend to prove that he was an antagonist of Buddhism. Nevertheless, they do not carry much significance.

Well-known scholar of Buddhism, Dr. T.W. Rhys Davids clearly expresses his views that : "At the close of the discourse the King is stated to have openly taken the Buddha as his guide in future and to have given expression to the remorse, he felt at the murder of his father. But it is also distinctly stated that he was not converted. There is no evidence that he really, after the moment when his heart was touched, continued to follow the Buddha's teaching. He, never, so far as we know, waited again either upon the Buddha, or upon any member of his order, to discuss ethical matters, and we hear of no material support given by him to the order during the Buddha's life-time.

"We are told, however, that after the Buddha's death, he asked (on the ground that he, like the Buddha, was Kṣatriya) for a portion of the relics ; that he obtained them ; and built a *stupa* or burial mound over them. And though the oldest authority says nothing about it, younger works state that on the convocation of the First Council at Rājagṛha, shortly after the decease, it was the king who provided and prepared that hall at the entrance to the

---

1. *Theragatha-Atthakatha, gatha* 609-19.

Sattapaṇṇi cave, where the rehearsal of the doctrine took place. He may well have thus showed favour to the Buddhists without at all belonging to their party. He would only, in so doing, be following the usual habit so characteristic of Indian monarchs of patronage towards all schools."[1]

Mother's Longings during Pregnancy

The description of Kūṇika's birth and his revolt against his father is almost identical in both the traditions. We find this description in the Jain canon *Nirayavalia* and *Digha Nikaya-Atthakatha* of the Buddhists. Both the traditions name his father Śreṇika (Bimbisāra). His mother's name was Chellaṇā according to the Jain tradition and Kosaladevī according to the Buddhists. The Jains state that his mother, on the day of conception, saw a lion in a dream but the Buddhists do not mention anything about it. According to the Jain tradition, the mother longed during pregnancy to eat the fried and baked meat of King Śreṇika's heart muscles and drink wine. According to the Buddhists, she longed only to drink the blood from the king's arms. Both the traditions state that the king fulfilled these longings. According to the Jain tradition, Abhaya Kumāra slyly so manouvered that the king's heart muscle was taken out and given to her, but in fact it was not even touched. The Buddhists state that the king's arm blood was extracted by a doctor and the mother's longing fulfilled. The queen later felt aggrieved of

1. *Buddhist India*, pp. 15-16.

this incident and even attempted to destroy the embryo in the womb. According to the Buddhists, this she attempted to do as the astrologers had predicted the would be child to be a murderer of his father. The Jains state that this she attempted out of her own thinking as to what could be expected of one who, even, while in the womb, demanded his father's heart.

Srenika's Affection for his Son

According to the Jain tradition, Chellaṇā, the queen mother threw away the child on a slum soon after its birth. There a cock bit his little finger. The finger bled. No sooner did the king come to know about this, he, out of affection, felt aggrieved and then quickly came to the spot. Picking up the child he brought him to the queen and cured the finger by sucking the blood from the wound. The Buddhist tradition gives the following account of it : "When the child was born, the king's minister apprehending that she might kill it took away the child. Later, after some time, the child was restored to the queen, who, under the impact of her motherly love for the son, willingly nourished him. Once, child Ajātaśatru developed an abscess on his finger. The servants took the weeping child to the king in the court. The king took the finger in his mouth. The abscess bled out. The king, out of his affection for the son, did not spit out the pus but swallowed it."

Father's Imprisonment

The Jain account of Kūṇika's plot against his father says that Kūṇika being ambitious for the

throne made connivance with his brothers. Putting his father into prison, he himself occupied the throne. According to the Buddhist tradition, it was Devadatta who instigated Ajātaśatru for acquiring the throne and so he imprisoned his father in the hot-house.

Patricide

According to Jain tradition, Kūṇika, on a ceremonial day, went to his mother, Chellaṇā, for saluting her feet. The mother did not accept his salutations. On being asked about the reason for her refusal to accept his salutations, the mother narrated the episode regarding Śreṇika's filial affection for his son and rebuked him for his foul deeds. It swayed Kūṇika's heart with love for his father. Having lamented for his misdeed, he at once took up a chisel and set out to cut the chains to free his father. On seeing him come, Śreṇika, anticipating of his imminent murder, preferred to commit suicide. He instantly took a deadly poison *Talaputa* and ended his life.

The Buddhist tradition narrates that none else was allowed entry into the hot-house where Bimbisāra was imprisoned except Kosaladevī, the mother queen. Ajātśatru wanted to starve the king to death at the instance of Devadatta who forbade the killing of father with weapons. Kosaladevī, under the pretext of seeing the king, used to carry meals concealed under her laps and gave it to the king, knowing of this, Ajātaśatru ordered his servant "Do no lẹt my mother go with covered laps." Then she started carrying her meals

in her head-dress. When this too was forbidden, she carried the meals concealed in her golden foot-gear. On being prohibited for this too, the queen used to go to the king after taking bath in perfumed water and then smearing her body with the four sweet liquids. The king licked her body and kept himself alive for a few days. Ajātaśatru finally stopped her visiting the king. Then the king lived by walking about in his cell meditating. When Ajātaśatru observed that the king was not dying, he called the barbers and ordered: "Cut open the feet of my father, the king, with a weapon, smear them with salt and oil, and roast them on the kher-wood coals." The barbers did this and the king died.

Repentance

Both the traditions speak of Kūṇika's repentance at the death of Śreṇika. According to the Jain tradition, Kūṇika had already repented before the king's death for his misdeeds, on hearing about his father's filial love from his mother. Seeing his father dead, he fell down on the earth as *champaka* tree cut by a chopper falls. Regaining consciousness after a couple of hours, he bitterly wept, and exclaimed "Oh ! What a sinner am I ! How irreligious and doer of wicked deeds am I ! I imprisoned with chains my godly father. It is because of me that king Śreṇika has died." Being grief-stricken by this, he just after some time left Rājagṛha and resided in Champānagarī, and made it the capital of Magadha.

According to the Buddhist tradition, a son was born to Ajātaśatru on the day of Bimbisāra's death. Messengers delivered a written message about having a son in his hands. The king felt overjoyed with affection and filial love. Even his bones and marrows were seized of happiness. The joy he experienced at the birth of his son made him realise something of affection his own father must have felt for him. Immediately he ordered his servants to set free his father. Messengers also handed over to him the death-news of Bimbisāra. On reading the news of his father's death, he screamed and ran to his mother and asked "Did my father love me ?" The mother narrated the episode of sucking the finger. Then he became all the more grief torn and repented for his deeds.

Comments

Although the details in the episodes of dream-longings, finger-wound, imprisonment, etc. in the narratives of two traditions vary, there exists much similarity from the basic point of view. The difference in the episodical versions is not unnatural. Every major incident, even at the time of its happening, gets currency in diverse forms and versions. The more so when there is a lapse of time. The Jain cannon *Niryavalia* is believed to have been compiled before the beginning of Vikram era (56 B.C.)[1], while *Atthakathas* are regarded to have been written in the 5th century of Vikram era.[2] It may well be a

---

1. Pt. Dalsukha Malavania, *Agan a Yuga ka Jaina Darsana*. Sanmati Gyana Pitha, Agra, 1966, p. 29.
2. Bhiksu Dharmarakshita, *Acharya Buddhaghosa*, Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnatha, Varanasi, 1956, p. 7.

cause of this difference. In all the traditions, episodic matters, getting transmitted by verbal versions, are compiled in written forms only after a time-gap of centuries. The Buddhist narration about the king's murder empathically exposes the cruelty of Ajātaśatru, while the Jains present it in a quite moderate way. The Buddhist version of cutting the feet, putting salt and roasting them, appears to be much inhuman, while according to the Jains, Śreṇika suffered only imprisonment with no tortures like starving etc. Even death is stated to be the outcome of suicide. On the contrary, Ajātaśatru is accused of particide as per the Buddhist tradition. All these facts tend to prove that Ajātaśatru was a follower of Jainism.

His Mother

Both traditions give different names for Kūṇika's, mother. According to the Jātakas, Kosaladevī was the daughter of Mahākosala, the king of Kosala, i.e. sister of Prasenajit, the king of Kosala.[1] On the occasion of her marriage a village from the Kaśī state was given as a dowry. After Bimbisāra's murder, Prasenajit took back that village. There was a war and after one reverse Prasenajit was victorious. Taking Ajātaśatru as his sisters's son he spared him alive, concluded a treaty, married his daughter Vajirā to him and gave the same village in dowry.[2]

In *Samyutta Nikaya*, Ajātaśatru has been mentioned as a son of Prasenajit's sister and also as

1. *Jataka*, edited by Fausboll, vol. III, p. 121.
2. *Jataka Atthakatha*, no. 249, 283.

"*Vedehiputta.*"[1] These names do not reconcile with each other. Here Buddhagoṣa has taken the meaning of '*Vedehi*' and '*Pandita*' and not as the 'princess of Videha Kingdom'. The fact is that Chellaṇā (mentioned in the Jain tradition) being a daughter of Cheṭaka, the chief of Vaiśālī Republic, was Vedehī. Prasenajit's sister Kosaladevī could be a step-mother of Ajātaśatru. According to the Tibetan tradition[3], and the *Amitayurdhyana Sutra*[4], the name of Ajātaśatru's mother was "*Vedehi Vasavi*" and also as she was a princess of the Videha State.[5] The use of the word "Videha", with this interpretation is found in abundance elsewhere too. Lord Mahāvīra has been called *Videha*, *Videhadinne*, *Videhajachche.*[6] Since Lord Mahāvīra was born in Videha, he was called Vedehī ; his mother too was born in Videha kingdom, so she was *Videhadattatamaja* and being the noblest among the Vedehis, he has been called *Videhajatya.*[7]

The great poet Bhāsa in his drama *Swapnavasvadatta* has called king Udayana as Videhaputra[8], because his mother was a princess of Videha

1. *Samyutta Nikaya*, 3/2/4.
2. *Vedehiputtoti vedehiti panditadhivachanam etam, pandititthiyaputto ti attho.*
   —*Samyutta Nikaya Atthakatha*, vol. I, p. 120.
3. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 63.
4. *S.B.E.* vol. XLIX, p. 166.
5. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 63.
6. *Kalpa Sutra*, 110.
7. S.B.E., vol. XXII, p. 256 ; Vasantakumara Chattopadhyaya, *Kalpa Sutra* (Bengali edition), p. 27.
8. *The Hindu Civilization*, (part II), p. 199 (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1964).

kingdom. According to the Jain tradition, Chellaṇā (mother of Kūṇika) and Mṛgāvatī, mother of Udayana, were real sisters, being the daughters of King Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī.[1] Lord Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā was the sister of king Cheṭaka.[2] There the epithets, such as *Videhadinna* or *Videhaputra* are most natural and intelligible. Even in the Jain canons Kūṇika has been called as "*Videhaputra*".[3] According to Mr. Rhys Davids, King Bimbisāra had two queens, one Kosaladevī, sister of King Prasenajit, the second one Videha Princess, and Ajātaśatru was the son of this Videha Princess.[4]

According to the *Atthakatha*, while King Bimbisāra was in prison in the hot-house, Queen Kosaladevī waited upon him. In *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, the name of the waiting queen is stated as Khemā and she is said to be the royal princess of Kosala kingdom.[5] But this obviously appears to be an error. Khemā truly belonged to Madra Deṣa.[6] It seems that in place of Kosaladevī the name of Khemā has been mentioned erroneously. In the Tibetan tradition and the *Amitayurdhyana Sutra*, the name of the waiting queen has been mentioned as Vaidehī Vāsvī, who was the daughter of Vaiśalī's Commander Sinha.[7] Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee writes that Vaidehī Vāsvī can

1. *Avasyaka Churni*, part II, p. 164.
2. *Ibid.*, part I, p. 254.
3. *Bhagwati Sutra*, Sataka 7, Uddesaka 9, p. 576.
4. *Buddhist India*, p. 3.
5. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, p. 316;
6. *Therigatha-Atthakatha*, 139-43.
7. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 63.

be identified with Chellaṇā.[1] From these diversities in the Buddhist tradition nothing more is inferred than that Ajātaśatru was the son of princess of Videha and so he was called Vedehiputra. It is not understandable why Acharya Buddhaghoṣa had been nourishing the wrong impression in interpreting the word "*Vedehi*" as *Pandita* and Ajātśatru as the son of Kosaladevī, the princess of Kosala.

Difference in Nomenclatures

There is a difference regarding the name and title in both the traditions. The Jains have all through named in Kūṇika, while the Buddhists have called him Ajātaśatru. Even in the *Upanishadas*[2] and *Puranas*[3] the name of Ajātaśatru has been used. Thus the factual position is that Kūṇika is the real name and Ajātaśatru is an epithetic name. Some time the title or the epithetic name enjoys more popularity than the real name. Such as, Vardhamāna was the original name and Mahāvīra an epithet, but, in practice, Mahāvīra has been more popular. In the general history of India, only the name of Ajātaśatru is current. The name of Ajātaśatru Kūṇika is found engraved on an edict at the Mathura's museum.[4] In fact this appears to be his full name. The word Ajātaśatru Kūṇika should be used in the modern literary works, as this would be more expressive and correct.

1. *Hindu Civilization* (part II), p. 183.
2. *Dialogues of Buddha*, vol. II, p. 78.
3. *Vayu Purana*, chapter 99, sloka 319; *Matsya Purana*, chapter 271, sloka 9.
4. *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. V, part IV, pp. 550-51.

The word Ajātaśatru is interpreted in two forms: One interpretation is Na jātaḥ śatrur yasya—One whose enemy is not even born ;[1] and the other interpretation is : Ajāto(a)pi śatruḥ—a father's enemy even before birth.[2] The latter interpretation is made by Āchārya Buddhaghoṣa and it is in itself quite consistent, but surely not natural. Kūṇika was an exalted and brave king. He conquered many unconquerable enemies. Thus the epithetic title "Ajātaśatru" appears to be more expressive of his valour and glory rather than of a reproach. The name Kūṇika is derived from the word "Kūṇi" which means a whit-low. Kūṇika means, bearer of a whit-low.[3] Achārya Hemchandra says—

Ruḍhavraṇāpi sā tasya, kuṇitābhavdaṅguliḥ.

Tataḥ sapaṁśuramaṇaiḥ, so(a)bhyaśchiyat Kūṇikaḥ.[4]

In the *Avasyaka Churni*, Kūṇika has also been named Aśokachandra, but it is rarely used.[5]

Mahasilakantaka Battle and Victory over the Vajjis

A historial event from the life of Ajātaśatru, according to the Jain tenents, is "Mahāśilākaṇṭaka" battle and in the Buddhist tradition this has been named as "Victory over Vajjis". Both traditions

1. *Dialogues of Buddha*, vol. I, p.78.
2. *Digha Nikaya Atthakatha*, I, 113.
3. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 580.
4. *Trisastisalakapurusa charitra*, canto X, sarga 6, shloka309.
5. *Asogavana chanda utti asogachanduti namam cha se katam, tattha ya kukkuda upichchhenam kanamguli se viddha sukumaliya, sa na pounati sa kuniga jata, tahe se dasa khvehim, katam namam kuniotti.*

—*Avasyaka Churni*, vol. II, p. 187.

differ from each other regarding the cause, pattern and results of the battle, but both agree about the victory of Magadha over the Vaiśhālī Republic. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha were present at the time of this battle. Both have answered questions concerning this war. The description of this battle in both the traditions is most fascinating and expressive of the contemporary politics. The Jain version is prominently available in the *Bhagwati Sutra*, *Niryavaliya Sutra* and *Avasyaka Churni*, while the Buddhist description is available in the *Mahaparinivvana Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* and its *Atthakatha*.

The Jain Version

After his father's death Kūṇika transferred his capital to Champānagarī and sent for all his ten brothers, Kālikumāra, etc. He then divided the kingdom, army, wealth, etc. into eleven parts and gave them their portion. Kūṇika had two real brothers (sons of Chellaṇā) named Halla and Vihalla.[1] King Śreṇika during his life time gave them his two special things, the Sechanaka elephant and a god given eighteen-stringed necklace.[2]

1. The version, however, is discrepant in different books. The *Niryavalia* text narrates the whole episode in context of Vihalla only, whereas the *Niryavalia Commentary* the *Bhagvati Commentary* and the *Bharateshvara-Bahubali Commentary* mention both—Halla and Vihalla—in this context. The *Anuttarovavaiya* Text states Vihalla and Vehayasa as the sons of Queen Chellana, and Halla as the son of Queen Dharini, whereas the commentaries on the *Niryavalia* as well as *Bhagvati* mention Halla and Vihalla as the sons of Queen Chellana. The whole topic is a subject of research.
2. It is said that the Sechanaka elephant and the god-given necklace were equal in value to Shrenika's whole kingdom ; cf. *Avasyaka Churni*, p. 167.

Riding on his elephant Sechanaka, Vihalla Kumāra alongwith his harem party used to go every day to the banks of the Ganges for water-sports. His enjoyments and lust gave rise to a talk in the town, that Vihalla Kumāra and not Kūṇika was really enjoying the grandeur of the kingdom. These talks reached Kūṇika's queen, Padmāvatī. She thought, "What is this royal dignity to me, if I do not have the Sechanaka elephant and the divine necklace ?" She expressed her feelings to Kūṇika. With her repeated entreaties Kūṇika was compelled to demand the elephant and the necklace from his brothers. He called Halla and Vihalla and said "Hand over the necklace and the elephant to me." They replied, "Our father has given these things exclusively to us. How can we give them up ?" Kūṇika got enraged at his reply. Halla and Vihalla, on getting an opportunity, carried the necklace, elephant and the harem to their maternal grand-father Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī. Kūṇika came to know about this. He sent his emissary to King Cheṭaka and asked him to return the necklace and the elephant alongwith Halla and Vihalla to Champānagarī. Cheṭaka said, "The necklace and the elephant belong to Halla and Vihalla. They have sought my asylum and I would not return them. If my grand-son Kūṇika, the son of King Śreṇika and Chellaṇā, would give half of his kingdom to Halla and Vihalla, I can manage to get him the necklace and the elephant." Kūṇika again sent his ambassador and said, "Halla and Vihalla have taken away the necklace and the elephant without my permission. Both these things belong to our State, Magadha." Cheṭaka returned the ambassador with a negative reply. The

ambassador reported all the details to Kūṇika, who got enraged. Out of excitement his lips started quivering, eyes reddened, and forehead wrinkled. In anger he ordered the ambassador to go for the third time and said, "I give you a written letter. In this is written : 'Return the elephant and the necklace or get ready to fight.' Proceed to Cheṭaka's assembly and kick his throne. Deliver this letter into his hands with the edge of a spearhead." The emissary complied. Cheṭaka got angry with the contents of the letter and the etiquette of the emissary. In agony he said to the ambassador, "I am prepared far war. Let Kūṇika come soon, I wait for him." Cheṭaka's aides caught hold of the ambassador by the neck and turn him out from the assembly. Kūṇika heard all this from the ambassador. He summoned his ten brothers Kālıkūmara etc. and said to them, "Go to your states and come back here prepared with your armies. I shall fight with King Cheṭaka." All the princes went to their states and came back accompanied by their own, three thousand of each elephants, horses, chariots and three crores of foot-soldiers. Kūṇika too provided his elephants, horses, chariots three thousand each and three crores of infantry men. Thus, Kūṇika with a great force of thirty-three thousand each of elephants, horses and chariots and thirty-three crores of foot-soldiers came to Vaiśālī.

King Cheṭaka too summoned his eighteen confederate Republican kings of Kāśi and Kosala, nine being the Mallakis and nine the Lichchavis. Seeking their advice he said to them, "Kūṇika, the son of Chellaṇā, the queen of King Śreṇika, my grand-son has come to fight for the necklace and the elephant.

Should we all fight with him or surrender to him?" All the kings said, "Surrender not, we shall fight."

With this decision they all went to their respective kingdoms and each returned with his own three thousand elephants, three thousand horses; three thousand chariots and three crores of foot-soldiers. Cheṭaka himself got prepared with an equal number of his army. Cheṭaka marched into the battle-field with 57,000 each of elephants, horses, chariots and 57 crores of foot-soldiers.

King Cheṭaka was a devotee of Mahāvīra. He had taken the twelve vows of a Jain devotee. In addition he had his own special vow, "I will not shoot more than one arrow a day." His arrow was an unfailing one, one which never missed the target. On the first day of the fight, Kālīkumāra came as the commander-in-chief from Ajātaśatru's side. He put his forces in an 'eagle-order.' King Cheṭaka organised his army in a 'cart-order'. There was fierce fighting. King Cheṭaka using his unfailing arrow, killed Kālīkumāra. Similarly, every day each of the other nine brothers came forward as the chief commander and was killed by the unfailing arrow of King Cheṭaka.

At that time Mahāvīra was present in Champā City. Kālī, etc., the ten queens—mothers of the ten dead princes—asked Mahāvīra questions pertaining to the battle. Mahāvīra told them the details of the death of princes, etc. The queens were so overwhelmed that they got initiated in his order.[1]

Kūṇika fasted for three days continuously. He then worshipped the gods, Śakrendra and

1. *Niryavaliya Sutra* with commentary, p. 6a (Surat, 1921).

Chamarendra. They appeared. With their help, the first day's Mahāśilākaṇṭaka battle was planned. Kūṇika came to the battle-field well protected with an impenetrable thunder-bolt resistant armour made by Śakrendra so that Cheṭaka's unfailing arrow could not kill him.

A fierce fight took place; even a stone, a straw or a feather hurled by Kūṇika's army struck upon Cheṭaka's army as a heavy rock. In a day's battle eighty four lac men were killed. On the second day, there was a battle of chariots. The automatic chariot made by god Chamarendra wrought havoc with its hammer moving about in the midst of the army throughout the day striking. In a day ninety-six lac men were killed. Cheṭaka with nine Mallakies and nine Lichchhavis, the eighteen republican kings of Kāśi and Kosala suffered defeat and King Kūṇika was victorious.[1]

Destruction of the Rampart of Vaisali

After the defeat, King Cheṭaka retreated into his city and shut the gate of the rampart. Kūṇika failed in breaking the rampart and laid a seize of the city. One day there was an oracle: "When Śramaṇa Kūlavālaka[2] will be enamoured by the prostitute Māgadhikā, King Ashokchandra (Kūṇikā)

---

1. *Bhagwati Sutra*, Sataka 7, Uddeshaka 9; Sutra 301.

2. Saint Kulavalaka did his penance at the bank of the river. Due to the influence of his penance, the river changed its course to some extent : hence he was called "Kulavalaka."

(*Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, Lakshmivallabha's Vritti (Gujrati edition with translation), Ahmedabad, 1935, part I, p. 8.).

shall capture Vaiśālī city."[1] Kūiṇka traced out Kūlavālakā and also sent for Māgadhikā. Māgadhikā disguised herself as a lady devotee and enamoured Kūlavālaka with herself. Kūlavālaka in disguise of an astrologer, reached Vaiśalī city with great difficulty. He came to know that the city was being protected under the influence of Munisuvrata Swāmi tope. People asked him how the danger from the enemy could be averted. Then he replied, "The enemy will not retreat from here unless this tope breaks." People began to dismantle the tope. The army of Kūṇika retreated for a while, because Kūṇika was so instructed previously by the astrologer. When the people of Vaiśālī saw the army of Kūṇika retreating, they were convinced of the astrologer's prediction, and hence they destroyed the whole tope. As soon as the whole tope broke, Kūṇika abruptly attacked and destroyed the ramparts of Vaiśālī.[2]

Halla and Vihalla ran away with the necklace and the elephant in order to escape from the enemy. There was a hidden fire in the ditch of the rampart. Sechanaka, the elephant, had known it with its clairvoyant knowledge. It refused to proceed on; when forced to go ahead, it took Halla and Vihalla off and itself entered the fire. It died and for its good deeds was re-born in the first heaven. The god-gifted necklace was picked up by the gods. Śāsandevī (goddess of the Jain order) took Halla and Vihalla to Lord

---

1. *Samane jaha kulavalae magahiam ganiam ramissae. Rava a asogachandae, vesalim nayarim, gahissae.* —*Ibid.*, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Mahāvīra, where they were initiated as monks in the Jaina order[1].

King Ceṭaka took to a lonely place and fasted unto death, attaining auspicious birth for his good thoughts[2].

The Buddhist Version

According to the Buddhist tradition, there was a mine of jewels in a mountain near a city on the Ganges.[3] There was an agreement between Ajātaśatru and Lichchhavis to share these jewels equally. Ajātaśatru went on postponing his attendance for collection of his share. Lichchhavis alone used to take away all the jewels in Ajātaśatru's absence. Ajātaśatru was then deprived of his share. This happened so many times. Ajātaśatru was enraged and thought, "A fight against the Lichchhavian Republic is difficult as their blows never fail.[4] But come what may, I will annihilate the great prosperity of the Vajjis. I will destory them." He sent for his Prime Minister, Brahmana Vassakāra and said, "Go to Lord Buddha, convey to him my intention and seek his advice. Report back to me his reply."[5] At that time Lord Buddha was staying on the Gṛdhakūta hillock. Vassakāra came there and enquired about his good health on behalf of Ajātaśatru and conveyed to him Ajātaśatru's message. Then Lord Buddha narrated seven unavoidable rules of the Vajjis :—

---

1. *Bharteswara Bahubali Vrtti*, pp. 100-101.
2. Acharya Bhiksu, *Bhiksu Grantha Ratnakara*, part II, p. 88.
3. According to *Buddhacharya*, valuable perfumed goods were unloaded near the mountain (page 484).
4. *Digha Nikaya Atthakatha* (*Sumangalavilasini*), part II, p. 526; B.C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, p. 111 ; *The Hindu Civilization*, p. 187.
5. *Digha Nikaya*, *Mahaparinivvana Sutta*, 2/3/16.

"(1) Plenary gathering—i. e. there is cent per cent attendance in their assembly meetings.

"(2) Vajjis sit with complete unanimity in their council; they rise unanimously and act unitedly. On the sounding of the clarion bugle, they attend the call even though they are engaged in taking meals or wearing the ornaments or dressing themselves.

"(3) The Vajjis implement their decisions with complete unanimity. They do not make unconstitutional things constitutional, nor do they transgress the constitution.

"(4) The Vajjis honour the old, revere them, respect and worship them.

"(5) The Vajjis do not violate the chastity of the noble ladies, nor do they compel noble girls to marry.

"(6) The Vajjis have regards for places of worship outside or inside their town. They do not disregard their decorum.

"(7) The Vajjis give religious protection to Arhats so that Arhats may continue coming to their town in future and those already present with them may live there comfortably.

"So long as these seven unavoidable rules are observed, they will prosper and suffer no loss."[1]

---

1. *Ibid., ibid.*

Dissension among the Vajjis

Vassakāra again came to Ajātaśatru and reported, "According to Buddha, the Vajjis are unconquerable, but they can be won over with bribery and disunion." The king asked the minister, "How to sow disunion ?"

Vassakāra said, "Tomorrow please mention about the Vajjis in the assembly. I shall speak in their favour and shall send a gift for the Vajjis. Punish me for this by expelling me out of your kingdom with a shaven head. I shall go saying, 'I have built your ramparts, defensive trenches, I know the weak points thereof. Call me not Vassakāra if I fail to set you right soon'."

The next day all that happened. These talks reached the Vajjis also. Some people said, "This is a fraud, let Vassakāra not come accross the Ganges." But many said, "The event that has happened is very much in our favour. Ajātaśatru used to take advice from Vassakāra. He is intelligent. Why should we not make use of him ? He is now an enemy of our enemy and therefore an honoured friend of ours." With this basic idea they appointed Vassakāra as the Prime Minister in the Republic. In a few days he became influential there. He started to create differences amongst the Vajjis. Many Lichchhavis used to assemble and Vassakāra would take one of them aside and speak to him in confidence :

"Do you till fields ?"

"Yes, I do."

"By yoking a pair of bullocks ?"

"Yes, by yoking a pair of bullocks."

Another Lichchhavi would take the above-mentioned Lichchhavi into seclusion and ask, "What did the Prime Minister say?" He would repeat the whole thing, but the other Lichchhavi would not believe that the Prime Minister might have indulged in such an ordinary talk. He would severe his relations with him saying, "You do not trust me, you are not telling the truth." Sometime Vassakāra would ask another Lichchhavi "What vegetables were cooked in your house?" The same thing would again occur. He would say to some Lichchhavi in seclusion, "You are very poor." To some Lichchhavi he would say, "You are very timid." On being asked who told him so, he would reply, "Such and such Lichchhavi has spoken so."

Within a few days there developed so much of distrust and dissension among the Lichchhavis, that when Vassakāra arranged to sound the clarion for the assembly, not a single Lichchhavi turned up. Thus he became sure that it was very easy to conquer the Vajjis. He secretly invited Ajātaśatru for an attack. Ajātaśatru set out with his army. A bugle blew in Vaiśālī, "Come on; let us go and prevent the enemy from crossing the Ganges." None turned up. Another bugle was sounded, "Come on, let us not allow the enemy to enter the city and close the gates to check the enemy." None came forward on hearing the bugle, but ironically they would say, "We are poor; we are coward, how can we fight? Those who are rich and brave shall fight." Ajātaśatru entered the city through the open gates, ruined Vaiśālī and returned.[1]

According to the *Mahaparinivvana Sutta*, the two

1. *Digha Nikaya Atthakatha*, part II, p. 523.

Prime Ministers of Ajātaśatru—Sunidha and Vassakāra founded Pāṭliputra City on the banks of the Ganges for protection from the Vajjis. When it was being built, Buddha also came there by chance and dined there on the invitation of Sunidha and Vassakāra. He praised Pāṭliputra when there was a talk about it and gave three causes of its ruin—fire, water and mutual dissension. According to Buddha, Sunidha and Vassakāra founded the city in consultation with '*Trayastrinśa* gods'.

Comments

Both the traditions in their own ways have given full details of the conquest and destruction of Vaiśālī. The reasons and the pattern of war are completely different in both the traditions. The Jain tradition depicts Cheṭaka as the head of the Lichchhavis. The Buddhist tradition puts only the "Vajji Sangha" (Lichchhavi Republic) as the opponent. Certain references in the Jain tradition, such as Kūṇika's and Cheṭaka's armies being thirty three crore and fifty seven crore in number respectively, the help from Śakra and Asurendra gods, one crore and eighty lac army causualties in only two days of war, the oracle in regard to Kūlavālaka, the defeat of the Lichchhavis by destruction of the tope etc. appear to be exaggeration. The description in the Buddhist tradition appears to be simpler, yet more comprehensive. On the one hand there is a mention of the jewel mine as the cause of the battle, while in the other, the precious divine necklace is stated to be the reason for this war. There is thus a virtual similarity. The arrow of Cheṭaka has been described as an unfailing one in the Jain

tradition. The narration about in the Buddhist tradition that none of their (Vajjigaṇas') strokes failed, is again indicative of a similarity.

The Jain tradition attributes the defence of the city to the influence of the tope. Buddha says, "So long as the Vajjis respect the topes inside and outside the city, they will prosper and suffer no harm."

The Buddhist tradition does not give so systematic an account of the belligerants as the Jain tradition has provided. The Buddhist tradition does not even casually refer to Cheṭaka. nine Mallakies and nine Lichchhavis and the eighteen Republican Kings. Both the traditions acknowledge the use of manoeuvering for the conquest of the Vaiśālī.

According to the Jain tradition, the battle is stated to have been fought in two parts :—

1. An open battle for a fortnight.
2. Destruction of the ramparts.

The latter even seems to have taken considerable time. According to Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji[1], this period can be taken as a minimum of 16 years. According to the Buddhist tradition, Vassakāra stayed in Vaiśālī for three years, and sowed dissensions and disunity among the Lichchhavis. All this shows that the Buddhist tradition gives merely the posterior description of the war.

Kunika's Queens and Sons

The names of the three queens of Kūṇika are

1. *Hindu Civilization*, p. 190.

given in the Jaina tradition as Padmavati,[1] Dhāriṇi[2] and Subhadrā.[3] According to the *Avasyaka Churni*, Kūṇika married eight princesses,[4] but no categorical mention is made therein about them. The name of Kūṇika's queen given in the Buddhist tradition is Vajirā. She was the daughter of King Prasenajit of Kosala. The name of Kūṇika's son given in the Jain tradition is Udāyī, while in the Buddhist tradition it is stated to be Udāyībhadra. The Jain tradition states Udāyī to be born of Queen Padmāvatī while in Buddhist tradition he is said to be the son of Queen Vajirā, but there arises a contradiction about his being the son of Vajirā, for according to the Buddhist tradition, Udāyībhadra was born on the day King Śreṇika died,[5] while the marriage of Vajirā with Kūṇika took place after the death of King Bimbisāra.[6]

Death of Kunika

Ajātaśatru Kūṇika's death is narrated in a varying manner in both the traditions. The Jain tradition states : Kūṇika asked Mahāvīra, "Where are the monarchs (Chakravartīs) born after death ?" The answer was "The man dying as a Chakravartī is reborn in the seventh hell."

1. "*Tassa nam kuniyassa ranno paumavai namam devi.*" —*Niryavaliva Sutra* (Ed. P.L. Vaidya), p. 4.
2. "*Tassa nam Kuniyassa ranno Dharini namam devi.*" —*Uvavai Sutra* with Commentary.
3. *Ibid.*, sutra 33, p. 144.
4. *Avashyaka Churni*, vol. II, p. 167.
5. Acharya Buddhaghosha, *Sumangalavilasini*, part I, p. 137.
6. *Jataka Atthakatha*, part IV, p. 343 ; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, p. 317.

"Where shall I go after death ?"

"You will go to the sixth hell."

"Am I not a Chakravartī ?"

"No, you are not."

This made Kūṇika ambitious of becoming a Chakravartī. He got fourteen artificial jewels constructed. He set out for a universal victory. A god stopped him in Timiśara cave and said "Only a monarch (Chakravartī) can enter this cave and twelve monarchs (Chakravartīs) have already done so." Kūṇika said, "I am the thirteenth Chakravartī." The god got angry on this impossibility and he burnt Kūṇika to death then and there.[1] The Buddhist tradition states that Kūṇika was killed by his son Udāyibhadra out of ambition for the throne.[1]

Both the traditions are unanimous about Kūṇika going to hell after death. The name of the hell mentioned in the Jain tradition is *Tamah Prabha* whereas in the Buddhist tradition, it is called *Loha Kumbhiya*[3] hell. Jainism holds that there are seven hells[4] in all, while Buddhism numbers them to be

1. *Thananga Sutra Vrtti* , *Avasyaka Churni* (vol. II), pp. 176-177.
2. *Mahavamsa*, 4-1.
3. *Digha Nikaya Atthakatha*, part I, pp. 237-38.
4. *Ratnaprabha, tamahprabha, valuprabna, pankaprabha, dhumaprabha, tamahprabha mahatamahprabha (tamahtamahprabha).*

   —*Bhagwati Sutra, shataka I, uddeshaka* 5.
5. *Sanjeeva, kalasutra, sanghata, jalaraurava, dhumaraurava, mahavichi, tapana, patapana.*

   —*Jataka Atthakatha*, part V, pp. 266-271.

eight. According to the Buddhist tradition, Ajātaśatru, after passing several transmigrations, will attain salvation in the life of Vijitāvi Buddha.[1] Narrations about Kūṇika's previous births are available in both the traditions, and their details differ but on basic considerations these have interesting similarities. Both represent the nuclear theme that Śreṇika had killed Kūṇika in one of his previous births.

In the Divyavadana (67), in place of *Jalaraurava*, we find *raurava* and in place of *dhumararaurava*, we find *maharaurava*.

In *Samyutta Nikaya*, *Anguttara Nikaya* and *Sutta Nipata* the names of the ten hells are given as *Avvuda, Niravvuda, Avava, Atata, Ahaha, Kumuda, Sogandhika, Uppala, Pundarika, Paduma*.

(–*Samyutta Nikaya*, 6/1/10 ; *Anguttara Nikaya* (P.T.S) part V, p. 173 ; *Sutta Nipata, Mahavagga, Kokaliya Sutta* 3/56). According to the commentator, these are not the names of the hells, but are the scales of the periods of living in the hells. In the '*Jaina Agamas*' also such time scales have been given. For example, see *Bhagwati Sutra, sataka* 6, *uddesaka* 7. In the Buddhist literature, another list of five hells is given (*Majjhima Nikaya, Devadatta Sutta*).

In *Jatakas* some other names are given–*Lohakumbhi Niraya* is also mentioned therein (*Jataka Atthakatha*, part III, p. 22 ; part V, p. 269 : *Sutta Nipata Atthakatha* part I, p. 59).

1. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. I. p. 35.
For Jain description see *Niryavaliya Sutra*, with Ghasilalji Maharaja's *Sunderbodhini Tika*, pp. 129–133 and for Buddhist description, see *Jataka Atthakatha*, *Sankichcha Jataka*, no. 530.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Original Jaina Sources

1. **Anuttarovaviyadasanga Sutra** (Jaina Canon): With Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Ātmananda Jaina Sabhā, Bhāvanagar, 1921.
2. **Antagadadasanga Sutra** (Jaina Canon) : With Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar, 1933.
3. **Avasyaka Churni** (2 Volumes) : Jinadasa Gani, Rishabhadeva Kesharimal Jaina Śwetāmbara Sansthā, Ratlām, 1928.
4. **Aupapatika (Uvavai) Sutra** (Jaina Canon) : With Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Devachanda Lālbhāi Pustakoddhāra Fund, Surat, 1937.
5. **Bhagvati Sutra** (Jaina Canon) : With Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Rishabhadevaji Jaina Śwetāmbara Sansthā, Ratlām, 1937.
6. **Bharteswara Bahubali** (2 Volumes) Śubhaśīla Ganī, Devachand Lālbhāi Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Surat, 1932.
7. **Dashashrutaskandha** (Jaina Canon) : Ed. and Trans. Atmarāmaji Mahārāja Sāstramāla, Lāhore, 1936.
8. **Jambudiva Pannati Sutra** (Jaina Canon) ; With Shantichandra Gani's Commentary (2 Volumes), Devachanda Lālbhāi Pustakodhāra Fund, Surat, 1920.
9. **Jnatadharmakathanga Sutra** (Jaina Canon) : With Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Ed. by Achārya Chandra Sāgara Sūri, Siddahchakra Sāhitya Prachāraka Samiti, Surat, 1951.

10. **Kalpa Sutra** (Jaina Canon) : Sārābhāi Manilāl Nawāb, Ahemadābād, 1941.
11. **Kalpa Sutra** (Bengali Translation) : Trans. by Dr. Basant Kumar Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
12. **Mahavira Chariyam** Gunchandra, Devachand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Surat.
13. **Mahavira Chariyam** ; Nemichandra, Atmarama Sabhā, Bhavnagar, 1926.
14. **Niryavaliyao** (Jaina Canon) : Chandrasuri, with Sanskrit Tikā, Āgamodaya Samiti, Surat, 1921.
15. **Nishitha Sutra** (Jaina Canon) : With Sabhāsya Chūrṇi, Edited by Upadhyāya Kavi Shri Amar Muni, Muni Kanaiyalal, 'Kamal', Sanmati Gyānapitha, Agra. 1960.
16. **Parishishta Parva** : Achārya Hemachandra, Ed. by Seth Haragovinddāsa, Jaina Dharma Prachāraka Sabhā, Bhāvnagar, 1927.
17. **Parishishta Parva** : Achārya Hemachandra, Ed. by Dr. Hermann Jacobi, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1932.
18. **Rishi Mandala Vritti**: Dharmaghosha Sūri, (with Śubhavardhana Gani's Sanskrit Tikā, and Shastri Harishanker Kalidasa's Gujrati Translation), Shri Jaina Vidyāshālā, Dosivādāni Pola, Ahemadabad, 1901,
19. **Sthananga Sutra** (Jaina Canon) ; With Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Agamodaya Samiti, Surat, 1920.
20. **Sthananga-Samavayanga** (Gujrati Translation) Trans. by Dalsukha Mālavaniya, Gujrat Vidyāpiṭha, Ahemadābād, 1955.

21. **Upadesha Mala** (with commentary) by Dharmadāsa Gani, Commentary by Rāmavijaya Gani, Hirālāl Hansaraj : Jamnagar, 1934.
22. **Upasakadasanga Sutra** (Jaina Canon) ; Ed. and Trans. into English by N. A. Gore, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1953.
23. **Uttarajjhayanani** (Jaina Canon) : Ed. by Achārya Shri Tulsi, Jaina Swetambara Terāpanthi Mahāsabhā, Calcutta, 1968.
24. **Uttaradhyayana Sutra** (Jaina Canon), (4 Volumes) : With Lakshmivallabha's Commentary, Trans. by Pt. Hirālāl Hansaraj, Manibāi, Ahemadābād, 1935.
25. **Uvavai Sutta** : (Hindi Translation) : Trans. by Muni Umeshchandra 'Anu', Akhila Bhāratiya Sādhumārgı Jaina Sanskriti Prakāshaka Sangh, Sailana, (M. P.), 1963.
26. **Gaina Sutras, part II (Sutrakritanga Sutra & Uttaradhyayana Sutra** : Tr. by Dr. Hermann Jacobi, Sacred Book of the East Series, vol. XLV, Oxford, 1889.
27. **Trishashti alakapurushacharitra** (6 vols.) Tr. by H. M. Johnson, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda 1930-66.

ORIGINAL BUDDHIST SOURCES

28. **Anagata Vamsha** : Ed. Manyeff, Journal of Pali Text Society, 1886.
29. **Anguttara Nikaya Pali (Tripitaka)** (4 volumes) : Ed. Bhıkṣu Jagdisha Kāsyapa, Pāli Prakāshana Mandala, Navaalandā Mahāvihāra, Nālandā, Bihār Rajya, 1960.

30. **Avadana Shatakam (Bauddha Sanskrit Granthavali)** : Ed. Dr. P.L. Vaidya, Mithilā Vidyāpīṭha, Darbhangā, 1958.
31. **Anguttara Nikaya Atthakatha (Manorathpurani)** : Āchārya Buddhaghoṣa, Ed. Herman Kopp, Pali Text Society, London.
32. **Buddhacharita** (With Hindi Translation) (2 Parts) : Aśvaghoṣa, Ed. and Translation by Sūrya Nārayāṇa Chaudhari. Sanskrit Bhavan, Kathotia, Distt. Puraṇia, Bihār, 1946-56.
33. **Dhammapada Atthakatha** (5 volumes) : Ācharyā Buddhaghoṣa, Ed. H. C. Norman, Pali Text Society, London, 1906-15.
34. **Dighanikaya Atthakatha** (Sumangalavilāsinī) (3 volumes) : Āchārya Buddhaghoṣa, Pali Text Society, London, 1886-1932.
35. **Digha Nikaya Pali** (Tripiṭaka) (3 volumes) Ed. Bhikṣu Jaadīśa Kāśyapa. Pali Prakashana Mandala, Nava Nalandā Mahāvihāra, Nālandā, Bihār, 1958.
36. **Gilgit Manuscripts (Vinaya Vastu)** (Buddhist Sanskrit Text) (3 Volumes) Ed. Dr Nalinaksha Datta, Prof. D. M. Bhattacharya, and Vidyavaridhi Pt. Shiva Nath Sharma, Shrinagar, Kashmir, 1942.
37. **Jatakatthakatha** (7 volumes) Acharya Buddhaghoṣa, Ed. V. Fāusboll, London, 1877- 1887.
38. **Jataka** (Hindi Translation) (6 volumes) : Bhadnta Ānanda Kauslyāyana, Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Prayāg, 1956.
39. **Lalitavistara** (Buddhist Sanskrit Text) : Ed. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Mithilā Vidyāpīṭha, Darbhangā, 1958.

40. **Mahavamsa** (Ceylonese Pali Text) : Ed. Geiger, Pali Text Society, London, 1912.

41. **Mahavastu** (Buddhist Sanskrit Text) : (5 volumes) : Ed. Senart, Paris, 1881-1897.

42. **Majjhima Nikaya Atthakatha** (Papañchasūdani) (5 volumes) : Āchārya Buddhaghoṣa, Ed. I. B. Horner, Oxford University Press for Pali Text Society, London, 1922-1938.

43. **Majjhima Nikaya Pali** (Tripiṭaka) (3 volumes) : Ed. Bhikṣu Jagadīsa Kāśyapa, Pāli Prakāshana Maṇḍala, Nāva Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Nālandā, Bihār, 1958.

44. **Samyutta Nikaya Atthakatha** (Śāratthapakāsini) Ācharya Buddhaghoṣa, Ed. F. L. Woodward, Pali Text Society, London, 1929-37.

45. **Samyutta Nikaya Pali** (Tripiṭaka) (4 volumes) Ed. Bhikṣu Jagadīśa Kāśyapa. Pāli Prakāśana Maṇḍala, Nava Nālandā Mahavihār, Nālandā, Bihar, 1956.

46. **Sutta Nipata Pali** (Tripiṭaka) (Khuddaka Nikāya Vol. I) : Ed. Bhikṣu Jagadiśa Kāśyapa, Pāli Prakaśhāna Maṇḍala, Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Nālandā, Bihār, 1959.

47. **Theragatha Atthakatha** (Paramatthadīpanī) : Āchārya Dhammapāla Ed : F. L. Woodward, Luzac & Co., Pali Text Society, London, 1896.

48. **Theragatha Pali** (Tripiṭaka) (Khuddaka Nikāya Vol. II) ; Ed. Bhikṣu Jagadīśa Kāśyapa, Pāli Prakāshana Maṇḍala, Nālandā, 1959.

49. **Theragatha Atthakatha** (Paramatthadīpanī) (2 volumes) : Ācharya Dhammapāla, Ed. F. L. Woodward, Luzac & Co., for Pali Text Society, London ,1940-56.

50. **Therigatha Pali** (Tripiṭaka) (Khuddaka Nikaya Vol. II) : Bhikṣu Jagadīsa Kāśyapa, Pāli Prakāśhana Maṇḍala, Nālāndā, 1959.

51. **Udana Atthakatha** (Paramatthadipani) Āchārya Dhammapāla, Pali Text Society, London, 1926.

52. **Vinaya Pitaka Pali** (Tripitake) (5 volumes) Ed. Bhikṣu Jagāḍīśa Kāśyapa, Nālandā, 1956.

BOOKS IN ENGLISH

53. **Buddhist Legends** (English Translation of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā) (3 volumes) ; Tr. E. W. Burlinghame, Harward Oriental Series, Harward University, 1921.

54. **Buddhist Mahayana Texts** (English Translation of Amitayurdhyan Sutra and other Mahayana Sutras), Tr. F. Max Muller and J. Takasuku, S. B. E. series, vol. XLIX, Oxford 1894.

55. **Dialogues of the Buddha** (Eng. Translation of Digha Nikaya)(3 volumes): Tr T.W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series, vol. II, III, IV, Oxford, London, 1899-1921.

56. **Mahavamsa** (Eng. Translation) Tr. W. Geiger assisted by Mabel Haynes Bode, Pali Text Society, London, 1912.

57. **Mahavastu** (Eng Translation) (3 volumes) : Tr. J. J. Jones, Luzac & Co., London, 1952-56.

OTHER SOURCES

58. **Abhidhana Chintamani Namamala** with Author's commentary : Achārya Hemachandra, Ed Vijayadharma Suri, Yasovijaya Jaina Granthamala, Benaras and Bhavanagar, 1915.

59. **Acharya Buddhaghosa**, Bhikshu Dharmaraksita, Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, Varanasi, 1956.

60. **Agama Yoga Ka Jaina Darsana** : Dalsukh Malvania, Sanmati Jñānapeetha, Agra.
61. **Bharatiya Itihasa Eka Drsti** Dr. Jyoti Prashad Jain, Bhartiya Jñānpeetha, Benaras, 1957.
62. **Bhagvat Purana** : Geeta Press, Gorakhpur.
63. **Bhiksu Grantha Ratnakara** : Achārya Bhikshu, Jain Swetamber Terapanthi Mahāsabhā, Calcutta, 1961.
64. **Buddhacharya** : Rahul Sankrityayana, Shiv Prasad Gupta, Seva Upavan, Kashi, 1932.
65. **Buddhaghosa** : B. C. Law, Calcutta,
66. **Buddhist India** : T. W. Rhys Davids, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1903.
67. **Contemporaneity and Chronology of Mahavira and Buddha** : Muni Shri Nagrajji, Today and Tomorrow Book Agency, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5, 1970.
68. **Corporate Life in Ancient India** : Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1918
69. **Dictionary of Pali Proper Names** : Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Pali Text Society, London, 1969.
70. **Encyclopaedia of Buddhism** : Dr. G P. Malalasekera, Government of Ceylon, 1963.
71. **Grammetik Der Prakrit Sprachen** : Richard Pischel, Strassburg, 1900.
72. **Hindu Civilization** : Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1966.
73. **Journal of Bihar and Orrisa Research Society**, Patna, Bihar.
74. **Life of Buddha and Farly Histoy of his Order** (Described from Tibetan Works) : Tr. W. W.

Rockhill, Trubner's Oriental series, London 1907.

75. **Life of Buddha** : E. J. Thomas, Routledge and Kegan Paul Pvt. Ltd. London, 1956.
76. **Matsya Purana** : Ed. Nandlal Mora, Calcutta, 1959.
77. **Oxford History of India** : V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1923.
78. **Paiasaddamahannavo**: H.T. Seth, Prakrit Granth Parishad, Varānasi, 1963 (Second Edition).
79. **Political History of Ancient India**: H.C. Raychaudhari, Calcutta University, 1953 (Sixth Ed.).
80. **Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary** : (3 vols.) Prin. V. S. Apte, Prasad Prakashan Poona. 1957.
81. **Some Jain Kings & Heroes** : Dr. Kamta Prasad Jain, Jain Mitra Mandal, Eta (U.P.), 1941.
82. **Tirthankara Mahavira**: (2 Parts) Vijayendra Suri, Yasodharma Mandir, Bombay, 1960.

INDEX